DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 180 084 EA 012 280

AUTHOR	Huguenin, Kathleen; And Others
TITLE	Narrowing the Gap Between Intent and Practice: A Report to Policymakers on Community Organizations and School Decisionmaking.
INSTITUTION	Institute for Responsive Education, Boston, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Jul 79
CONTRACT	400-76-0115
NOTE	135p.; Prepared as part of Citizen Organizations: A Study of Citizen Participation in Educational Decisionmaking
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Advisory Committees; *Citizen Participation; Citizens Councils; *Community Involvement; *Community Organizations; Decision Making; Elementary Secondary Education; *Environmental Influences; Failure Factors; Federal Legislation; Government Role; Organizational Theories; Policy Formation; *School Community Relationship

ABSTRACT

This report attempts to determine how successful community groups have been at influencing school decision-making and policy formation. It begins by surveying several research and evaluation studies regarding citizen participation in educational decisions and placing special emphasis on a field study of 16 community organizations. The analysis emphasizes the effect of the environment (defined as the political, social, economic, and historical context) on the ability of community organizations to influence school organizations. The general conclusion of the research review is that most efforts to broaden the base of local educational decision-making have been unsuccessful. Finally, the authors make a number of specific policy recommendations for improving citizen participation in and influence on educational decision-making. These recommendations emphasize structural changes in the environmental influences constraining community participation. Examples of suggestions include creating federal and state offices for citizen participation, replacing many overlapping councils with umbrella council structures, and encouraging moves toward school site management. This structural focus, instead of placing blame on uncommitted educators, untrained community participants, or insensitive policy-makers, identifies the institutional source of gaps between intent and practice. (Author/JM)

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ED180084

Narrowing the Gap Between Intent and Practice:

A Report to Policymakers on Community Organizations and School Decisionmaking

Kathleen Huguenin, Ross Zerchykov, Don Davies

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Prepared as part of Citizen Organizations: A Study of Citizen Participation in Educational Decisionmaking by the Institute for Responsive Education. The work upon which this publication is based was performed pursuant to Contract Number 400-76-0115 with the Program on Educational Organizations and Local Communities of the National Institute of Education, and does not necessarily reflect the views of that agency. This publication is not printed at the expense of the Federal Government.

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FOREWORD

by Don Davies, Principal Investigator

This report is the eighth of nine publications resulting from a 35-month research project. The Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) in Boston was the prime contractor. The subcontract for the study was with the Graduate Center for the City University of New York, under the direction of Marilyn Gittell. The Education and Human Resources Development Division of Optimum Computer Systems, Inc., of New York City was the subcontractor for the first half of the project.

Entitled "Citizen Organizations: A Study of Citizen Participation in Educational Decisionmaking," the project was funded by the Program on Educational Organizations and Local Communities of the National Institute of Education, a part of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The principal purpose of the overall study was to increase understanding of ways in which organizations: (1) have impact on local decisionmaking; (2) work to increase the responsiveness of public institutions (e.g., schools and school systems); and (3) enhance the power of minorities and of low-income residents. The study was particularly concerned about the ways in which the parents and other community members, especially urban minorities and the poor, participate in decisions that bear on the education of their children.

This report was prepared for educational policymakers at the Federal, State and local levels. It is addressed especially to members and staff of legislative bodies and school boards and officials in Federal, State and local education agencies. We hope that this report will also be of value to planners, evaluators, analysts, researchers, citizen and professional organization leaders, and professors who are interested in educational policy matters.

The primary data source for this report is drawn from the overall study. We also draw heavily on secondary sources, such as recent research studies and evaluations of citizen participation in government-mandated programs. We summarize the current status of government and citizen-initiated efforts to foster citizen participation in the schools and suggest policy alternatives.

A more comprehensive treatment of many of the issues in citizen participation in schools is found in the other reports from this study, especially the final research report by Marilyn Gittell with its voluminous appendices containing the data from the field studies. This and other publications resulting from the project are described below. They are available from the Institute for Responsive Education.

1. Final Research Report on the Study of Citizen Organizations

In the main body of this report, Marilyn Gittell and her associates summarize what was learned about the effectiveness of citizen organizations and the environment in which they function in three cities--Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles--over a period of 20 months. Sixteen citizen organizations of different types were studied intensively. The separate appendices include data about the organi-

zations, the school districts, and the cities. These data are based on thousands of hours of interviews and observations, and on an analysis of documents and the press. (August 1979)

2. Education for All People: A Grassroots Primer

This resource directory is designed specifically for grassroots citizen organizations working on school issues. It suggests sources of help and includes information about nine major topics: how school systems are organized; parent and student rights; bilingual education; the education of handicapped children; school desegregation; health, nutrition, and safety in the schools; how to evaluate a school; how parents can help children learn at home; and fundraising by nonprofit groups from government, foundation and corporate sources. In addition, brief entries are provided on a wide range of other topics of interest to grassroots citizens. These include standardized testing, teacher organizations, collective bargaining, bookkeeping and accounting for nonprofit groups, street law, and school volunteers. Federal programs that grant funds to local nonprofit groups and that are education-related are listed along with 120 national organizations providing information or services to grassroots groups. (June 1979)

3. Patterns of Participation in Educational Decision-making

The two volumes of this publication are a status report on citizen participation in the schools. The two volumes can be read separately but are closely interconnected and interdependent.

Volume I: An Overview of the Status of Citizen Participation is an interpretative essay by Don Davies, estab-

lishing an ideological framework and historical and cultural context, including the influence of government interventions, and summarizing information and ideas about who participates on what issues and in what ways. Included is a summary of evidence about the impact of citizen participation on policy, service delivery, student performance and participants. (November 1978)

Volume II: Grassroots Perspectives: Diverse Forms of Participation considers in more detail a variety of channels for participation. Chapters are devoted to each of four major forms of participation: community control, school councils and advisory committees, grassroots neighborhood associations, and child advocacy groups. (March 1979)

4. Federal and State Impact on Citizen Participation in the Schools

This report examines the impact of Federal policies on citizen participation, the effects of State legislation, the role of the courts and judicial activism, and, in particular, the role citizens have played across the country in the school desegregation issue. (June 1978)

5. Social Science Theory and Research on Participation and Voluntary Associations: A Bibliographic Essay

This review of theory and research on interest groups is intended for policymakers and researchers concerned with citizen participation in educational decision-making. Topics include the functions of participation, network analysis, ethnicity and political participation, the changing urban environment and the neighborhood government movement. Special attention is given to issues such as decentralization and community control. (July 1977)

6. Citizen Participation in Educational Decision-making: An Annotated Bibliography

Updating a previous bibliography prepared by the Institute for Responsive Education in 1974, this publication provides annotations for more than 800 books, essays and articles on citizen participation. (January 1978)

7. A Directory of State and National Organizations Serving Local Citizen Groups

Designed as a tool for citizens involved in schools, this resource directory appears in the Fall 1977 issue of Citizen Action in Education, the national newsletter of the Institute for Responsive Education.

The Institute for Responsive Education is a nonprofit, private organization, founded in 1973 by Don Davies to study and assist the process of citizen participation in educational decisionmaking. It is housed in the School of Education, Boston University, where Davies is a professor.

For more information about this NIE-funded study of citizen organizations, or about the Institute for Responsive Education, write or call:

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report represents the combined efforts of more than just the three IRE staff members listed as authors.

We are indebted to Marilyn Gittell, and her staff, for their valuable insights and for the research which provides the framework for this report. We also wish to acknowledge the research staff and cooperating organizations in the three sites.

Various members of the IRE staff made important contributions. James Upton, with a doctorate in Political Science from Ohio State University, served as field research coordinator from the beginning through the summer of 1978. He was responsible for conducting our study of ESAA-NPO groups. Currently an Assistant Professor at the Center for African American Studies at Ohio University, Dr. Upton is the author of Urban Violence: A Case Study of Three Cities.

Miriam Clasby, Associate Director of IRE and Director of the Collaborative which links Boston University with 14 Boston schools and their Community District Advisory Council, made an important contribution in helping to analyze the policy issues considered in this report. A former chairperson of the Editorial Board of Harvard Educational Review, she has also served as Project Director at the Educational Policy Research Center, Syracuse, New York.

A similarly important contribution was made by IRE staff member and Project Director, Jim Stanton, who has

studied and reported on mandated school councils in Florida, California, South Carolina and New York. With Zerchykov, Stanton is the author of Overcoming the Barriers to School Council Effectiveness, published by IRE in 1979 with support from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.

Richard Morris, Director of IRE's National Teacher Corps Project, assisted by reviewing and offering suggestions on the issues raised in this report.

We wish to acknowledge especially the invaluable contribution made by Alison Ridley Evans, IRE's senior editor, whose responsibility it was to edit this entire report.

Special thanks go to Dale Conway, Carole Herzog, Constance Hyde and Agnes Quinn who handled the final typing, and to Dana Rudolph who coordinated final production.

Finally, we acknowledge with gratitude the support of the National Institute of Education, especially the Contract Officer, Mark Margolis, the Project Officer, Berlin Kelly, and the Assistant to the Project Officer, Lorri Manasse. Their joint commitment to the significance of the study was apparent throughout.

PRÉCIS

There have been many efforts to reform American public education. This report focuses on one such reform: Federal and State efforts to broaden the base of local educational decisionmaking by including "new players"--community organizations--in that decisionmaking process. These efforts have not generally been successful in increasing the influence of community organizations in local school policymaking.

Lack of success is not due to insufficient commitment on the part of policymakers or local educators. Nor is it due to insufficient competency on the part of community participants. The problem lies within the policy delivery system itself. Policies creating or supporting the inclusion of "new players" do not stem from a coordinated approach for increasing community participation in education. Federal participation requirements are attached to separate and specific categorical programs which do not have community participation as their primary goal. State-initiated policies are not integrated with parallel and, in some cases, overlapping Federal requirements. Local education agencies often lack the understanding, the means, or the will to translate Federal and State intent into local practice. Efforts to monitor the translation of intent into local practice impose overly rigid requirements which preclude successful adaptation to local circumstances and at the same time leave the most important matters up to chance.

The result is a policy delivery system which:

- Creates a proliferation of "new players" fragmented from one another and from private-sector, voluntary groups.
- Is characterized by regulations which focus on "what can be counted" rather than on "what counts," thereby leading both schools and community organizations to spend more time and energy meeting administrative requirements and less time on meeting program goals.
- Does not promote those organizational characteristics in both mandated and voluntary groups which lead to their effectiveness in influencing school decisionmaking.
- Does not pay sufficient attention to concurrent changes in the structure of school organizations necessary to increase community access to decisionmaking.

These conclusions are based on the research surveyed in this report which identifies the conditions under which community organizations can be effective in influencing school decisionmaking. That information serves as a basis for suggesting specific steps policymakers can take to accomplish the following:

1. Increase coordination among policies and integration between levels of policymaking by:

- Creating Federal and State offices for citizen participation.

2. Overcome fragmentation of participation mechanisms at the local level by:

- Creating umbrella council structures at each school site which federate existing participation mandates and represent voluntary citizens groups while still preserving client representation in Federal categorical programs.

3. Promote those organizational characteristics which lead to effectiveness in influencing school decisionmaking

by:

- Strengthening private-sector, voluntary organizations in order to expand the constituency base for community participation.
- Providing mandated organizations with both the resources and authority equivalent to their assigned responsibilities.
- Providing financial incentives to increase "networking"--communication and resource exchanges--between mandated and voluntary organizations.

4. Provide a better match between externally initiated mandates for citizen participation and local practices by:

- Recognizing the distinction between the administrative and policymaking spheres in local education and integrating mandated organizations into the policymaking sphere by making them advisory to local school boards rather than to principals.
- Establishing a formal process to involve all relevant constituencies at the local level in the implementation of externally mandated participation mechanisms.

5. Attend to the concurrent changes in the structure and informal practices of school organizations necessary to increase their responsiveness to community participation by:

- Encouraging moves towards school site management as a way to bring decisionmaking to the level of greatest parent and citizen interest and involvement.
- Requiring training for educators and school administrators in order to prepare them for new roles in dealing with community participation and overcome long-standing traditions sanctioning professional domination of all areas of decisionmaking.

In short, adding "new players" is a necessary but not sufficient condition for increasing community participation. This realization guides our set of 15 integrated and mutually reinforcing recommendations which elaborate on the points made immediately above. Most of the recommendations emphasize structural changes; few call for the expenditure of additional public monies. The emphasis on structural changes stems from adopting the perspective of policymakers: the focus is on those changes most susceptible to manipulation. Instead of placing the blame on uncommitted educators, untrained community participants or insensitive policymakers, this structural focus identifies the institutional source of gaps between intent and practice.

SECTION ONE:

INTRODUCTION

"Hello?" said Piglet. "What are you doing?"

"Hunting," Pooh said.

"Hunting what?"

"Tracking something," said Winnie-the-Pooh very mysteriously.

"Tracking what?" said Piglet, coming closer.

"That's just what I ask myself. I ask myself, what?"

What indeed? History is strewn with numerous programs, reforms and innovations, each attempting to "track down" and solve the problems facing American schools. This report will focus on one such example--the creation of organizations designed to give parents and members of the community a role in educational decisionmaking.

Background

Dissatisfaction with the American public school system is on the rise (Smith and Gallup, 1977). Public school enrollments are declining while enrollment in private schools is increasing (Education Daily, 1/18/79). Student test scores are down (Education U.S.A., 4/16/79). Citizens are increasingly reluctant to commit needed resources for education. This is particularly evident in Oregon and Ohio where the passage of school bond issues proved difficult and in California where Proposition 13 generated overwhelming support. Few would debate that something needs to be done. However, there

is a lack of consensus about what that something should be.

Traditional reforms in education have defined the something as a redistribution of resources; the solutions that followed consisted of adding to or reallocating those resources, based on the assumption that more is necessarily better. Recent reforms, however, have "tracked" the problem to a different source--the process by which decisions about allocation of resources get made (Cohen, 1978). Many current innovations can be viewed as representing various actors' desires for an increased role in the educational decisionmaking process. Everyone seems to want a "piece of the action." Teachers are calling for a greater voice through increased institutionalization of collective bargaining. State and Federal agencies are pressing for changes in school finance laws and continuing to increase the scope and variety of categorical programs. Both these trends increase the control of State and Federal governments in local educational decisions. There has been a reemergence of interest in voucher plans to enable families to exercise more individual choice. And the present wide range of both mandated and citizen-initiated community organizations represents an opportunity for parents and community members to have their own "piece of the action." It is this latter reform that we will "track" in the remainder of this report.

Since the 1960's and the advent of "maximum feasible participation" community involvement in education has been an issue. Throughout the last decade, numerous Federal and State programs have mandated the creation of parent advisory groups (Davies, et al., 1978). While many of these groups exist only on paper and membership lists may

be inflated, it is estimated that at present approximately 1,200,000 non-professional members serve on various school councils or advisory committees across the country (Davies, et al., 1977). And that number is growing. It is neither feasible nor fashionable to oppose citizen participation. Its popularity has caused it to be termed the "breakfast cereal" of the seventies (Featherstone, 1976). Participatory mechanisms such as councils and committees have been charged with accomplishing a variety of tasks. These include reducing alienation, improving program effectiveness, and devolving power to citizens (Yin, et al., 1973). Yet, the one thing these numerous parent and community organizations have not been successful in doing, according to recent studies, is to exert influence on the decision-making process of schools (Stearns, et al., 1973; Cole, 1974; Hightower, 1978; Boone, 1978; Baker, Herman and Yen, 1978; NIE, 1978; Kaplan and Forgione, 1978).

There are two currently popular explanations as to why the addition of new "players" in the form of parent or community councils has failed to alter the educational decisionmaking process. One view holds that the addition of new players on the local level is irrelevant because the real decisions concerning education today are made elsewhere--in the national arena by groups outside the public domain such as professional unions, national testing services, and textbook publishers (Cohen, 1978). Thus, the critical decisions are beyond the bounds of local decisionmaking bodies regardless of who is involved. A contrasting opinion is suggested by the recent Rand study of federally-supported innovations; this concludes that innovations are likely to fail because of insufficient [as opposed to too much] attention focused on the local context (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974 and 1978). Adding

"new players" to the decisionmaking "game" is necessary but not sufficient. According to this study, the game itself must change to match local conditions.

The purpose of this report is not to decide which explanation best explains why community organizations have failed to exert influence. Both positions are partly accurate. It is our intent, however, to move beyond a discussion of why things are not working to what can be done about it. Specifically, we will suggest what actions can be followed by Federal, State and local policymakers to increase the influence of community organizations in educational decisionmaking.

Framework of Report

Community organizations seeking to influence school affairs are a political reality. Either through government mandate or independent citizen action, they are a fact of life.* The question underlying this report is how can such groups realize their potential and be most effective in influencing educational decisions?

This question is addressed from the perspective of the policymaker.** We assume policymakers would rather

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*Therefore, it is not our intent to make a case for or to persuade policymakers that community groups should be involved in education. That argument has been made elsewhere.

**Examining this problem from the perspective of the policymaker is not to suggest that there are not other avenues that educators or community organizations can pursue independently to increase community participation in education. Suggestions to these other audiences, however, are beyond the scope of this report.

operate from a position of leadership instead of seeing the intent of their policies lost in uneven or incomplete implementation. To quote one policymaker: "We behave as if pronouncements will automatically lead to follow through. They don't." (Cunningham, et al., 1978). One reason they do not is because mere acceptance by policymakers of the goal of increasing community involvement in education is, by itself, not enough. Other things also need to happen. If successful follow through of policy pronouncements is to occur, policymakers must: (1) develop an integrated approach to implement their policies, and (2) take into account the organizational realities which shape the adaptation of policies.

Such an integrated approach is assumed in this report. Accordingly, we attempt to capture the "whole picture" of policymaking in all its complexity. The three levels of policymaking--Federal, State, and local--are considered as parts of an integrated system, rather than as separate, discrete entities. The policymaking setting, the delivery system, and the community groups and schools which the policies affect are all discussed. This systemic and integrated approach is embodied in the model we propose at the conclusion of this introductory section.

The perspective or particular "lens" through which a problem is viewed determines to a large extent what is emphasized (Marris and Rein, 1973; Peterson, 1976). The "lenses" used in this report are organizational ones. Hence, our focus is on structural characteristics of both community organizations and the schools they are trying to influence. These lenses also lead us to focus on those organizational attributes that affect how schools and community organizations relate to their environments.

Specific attention is paid to those characteristics that either facilitate or impede the ability of community groups to influence educational decisionmaking.

Two types of groups are included under the term community organization--mandated and citizen-initiated. Mandated organizations refer to groups that are created by government mandates and which operate within the public school system. Citizen-initiated organizations refer to voluntary groups operating with or without government support which remain outside the public school system. The term "school organization" refers to the local public school system.

This organizational perspective is not meant to minimize the effect of individual attributes such as sex, race, and class on participation. In fact, it is precisely groups comprised of excluded segments of the population--low-income and minority members--with which many of the current target participation programs (and this study) are concerned. We know that many low-income and minority community organizations do not have the resources or access to the decisionmaking process taken for granted by more middle-class groups (Gittell, et al., 1979). Moreover, the programs designed to reach these target populations are not working (Stearns, et al., 1973; Cole, 1974; Hightower, 1978; Baker, Herman, and Yen, 1978; NIE, 1978). We suggest, however, that the fault does not lie with the individuals--either program personnel or participants. They are not the cause for this lack of effectiveness, but its victims. According to our conceptual framework, the problem is an organizational one. It is related to the way schools and community groups are set up and the way they relate

to each other. Hence, the focus of the report and the recommendations are specifically aimed at identifying organizational barriers and, most importantly, suggesting ways of overcoming them. The ultimate intent is not only to increase the overall effectiveness of community organizations in their attempts to influence school decision-making, but, in doing so, to identify ways policymakers can specifically assist the powerless to be more powerful. To quote Marilyn Gittell, the Research Director of this study:

> We believe that democracy requires the participation of lower-class populations and that community organizations are the best means for achieving that participation. This requires more, not less, attention to the elements which will make these organizations more effective. (Gittell, et al., 1979: 24).

It is precisely these elements that we will emphasize.

This report is divided into four sections. This first one, the *Introduction*, includes the background, framework, sources of data, and a proposed model for looking at the variables that affect the relationship between schools and community organizations. The second section, *What We Know*, reviews current policies aimed at increasing community participation, explores the implicit assumptions underlying those policies, and reviews what works. The third section, *What We Suggest*, develops a series of specific policy recommendations based on the existing evidence. The fourth and final section, *Summary and Conclusions*, discusses the implications for Federal, State, and local policymakers.

Sources of Data

Primary Sources

A Study of Citizen Participation in Educational Decisionmaking provides a major source of data for this report. The initial phase of the study included interviews with over one hundred community organization leaders in nine major urban centers around the country. Additional interviews, specifically for this report, were conducted with policymakers in Washington, D.C. and in five State capitals in different regions of the country. The field study focused on an in-depth analysis of 16 community organizations in three cities: Boston, Atlanta and Los Angeles. Information was collected on external factors, such as the economic and political cultures of the cities, and the degree of openness of the school systems. The major emphasis of the study, however, was on internal characteristics of the 16 community organizations, specifically their choice of strategies and their resource base. The intent was to identify those characteristics which were associated with the effectiveness of community organizations. Effectiveness was defined as their ability (1) to serve as a point of access for an otherwise excluded segment of the population and (2) to challenge the system to respond to their constituents' needs. Data were gathered through participant observation, interviews and surveys.*

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*For the specific design, procedure and findings of this report, the reader is directed to the Research Memo and the Final Research Report (Gittell, et al., 1979).

The field study first identified those organizational behaviors which were associated with varying degrees of effectiveness. These behaviors were then correlated with different organizational characteristics. It was discovered that the prime determinant of effectiveness was the strategy chosen by the organization. Choosing a conscious advocacy strategy led to greater impact. However, this determination of strategy was found to be more or less circumscribed by the organization's relative independence from the environment, especially if this environment served as a resource base.

Relative independence from the environment was found to be most possible for middle-class, voluntary groups who controlled their own resource base. Lower-class groups, on the other hand, both mandated and citizen-initiated, were in a more dependent position. The goals, structure, leadership patterns and allowable strategies were imposed on mandated groups. Voluntary groups were found to be dependent upon external--government or private--funding sources.

This material dependence exhibited by lower-class groups may explain several characteristic features of their structure and behavior. First, it may account for the choice of goals on the part of lower-income organizations from advocacy of "underclass" interests to service delivery. Second, this process of goal displacement has implications for the structural and leadership patterns of those organizations. Resource dependency may cause groups to devote more energy to organizational maintenance than to mobilization and articulation of their own interests. There is strong evidence that such material dependence on the environ-

ment precludes the development of the very organizational forms associated with effectiveness in the voluntary, more independent middle-class groups.

By delineating organizational differences based on class, this field study makes an important contribution to the literature. It points out that much of the conventional wisdom concerning organizations is based on the experience of middle-class groups. It provides a systematic look not only at differences in class, but what these differences mean for choice of strategy, internal characteristics and eventual organizational effectiveness.

However, as in any study qualified by particular time, space and circumstance, there are constraints posed by the design. Given a sample of only 16 organizations in three urban (albeit different geographical) areas, it was not possible to include every type of organization of each class in each city.

The policymaker, on the other hand, is generally faced with a wider range of situations than were possible to include in this study: mandated, as well as citizen-initiated organizations; target, as well as comprehensive, populations to be served; rural, as well as urban environments; and frequently conflicting requirements emanating from Federal, State and local policies. To address these more varied circumstances it was necessary to broaden the sources of information in this report. These additional data sources enabled us both to substantiate the field study's results, and provided a wider range of findings for our own policy recommendations.*

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*Since many of the studies and evaluations drawn upon in this report focus on categorical programs (cont.)

Secondary Sources

While our goal was to enlarge the data base as much as possible, we limited the additional studies to those that, at least in part, approached the problem from an organizational perspective and focused on factors lending themselves to manipulation by policymakers. These studies provided information on internal structural features, external environmental characteristics of community organizations, or the school organizations such groups are attempting to affect. We have categorized them accordingly.

1. Internal Structural Features

Studies which provide information in this area include: a review of the literature by the Rand Corporation on the structural characteristics that led to devolving power and increasing client control over services in ten service-linked community organizations funded under HEW (Yin, et al., 1973);** a study of 24 neighborhood organizations (most of which were created under Federal mandate) whose definition of impact rested on increasing trust and service delivery (Cole, 1974); IRE's own Mott Foundation funded study which also focused on organizational features leading to a group's effectiveness, in this case defined as organizational maintenance and level of goal-related activity (Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979); and an evaluation

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targeted at specific low-income populations, our information base concerning other than middle-class groups is further enhanced.

**It is beyond the scope of this report to detail the sample, methodologies, procedures, etc., employed by each of these studies. The interested reader is directed to the primary sources; specific references can be found in the bibliography.

of one of Florida's state-wide innovations, school advisory councils (Cunningham, et al., 1978).

The study which comes closest to using our own definition of effectiveness (i.e., having an impact on decisionmaking) is the Rand study on the role of ESAA-NPO groups in school desegregation (McDonnell and Zellman,1978). These findings were based on 131 organizations located in 40 school districts nationwide. Further information on ESAA-NPO groups is provided by a study conducted by IRE which again focused on the capacity of these groups to influence policy (Upton, Fonow, and Cook, 1979). Also defining success in terms of impact on decisionmaking are two studies on the federally-sponsored experimental Urban/ Rural School Development Program (Huguenin, 1978; Joyce; 1978). Finally, a study of California's school councils focused on both internal and external characteristics, and, crucial for our purposes, measured impact in terms of effect on decisionmaking (Heck, 1977).

2. External Characteristics

We refer to several studies that provide information primarily on external characteristics relating an organization to its environment. A study of Title I groups in eight states and 32 school districts considered the environment to be the Federal, State and local administrative levels of the program and success to be regulatory compliance (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977; and Kaplan and Forgione, 1978); and a report from NIE which drew on this Title I study as well as from the myriad of other compensatory education programs (NIE, 1978). Two IRE studies specifically addressed the independent effects of the various levels which comprise the environment. The

first elaborated the impact of Federal, State and judicial activity, over the past twenty years (Davies, et al., 1978); the second drew upon a series of interviews conducted in California with state-level policymakers (Davies, 1979).

A somewhat different view of the environment emerged from the recent Rand studies on federally-sponsored innovation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974 and 1978). They conceived of environment as the local institutional setting and, most important for our purposes, defined impact not only in terms of compliance or fulfilling goals but as change brought about in policy.

3. School Organizations

Also of interest to us are the school organizations which these community groups attempt to influence. The following studies focus on some aspect of school organizations: school structure as one determinant of carry-over effects in California's Early Childhood Education Program (Baker, Herman, and Yen, 1978); school organizations as microcosmic political systems (Peterson, 1976); the cultural traditions inherent in school organizations (Sarason, 1971); school boards as prime decisionmakers in the organization (Zeigler and Jennings, 1974); and finally, the effect of the unique features of schools, as organizations, on evaluation efforts (Deal and Huguenin, 1975).

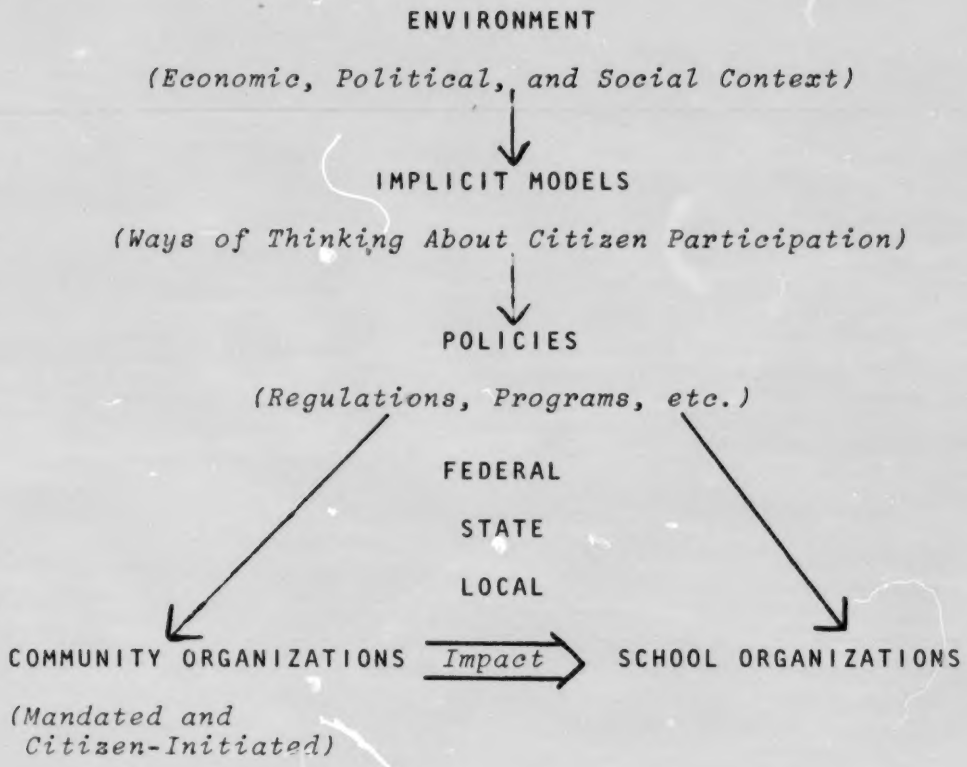
Although the results from all these studies are not cumulative, they do provide missing links necessary for policymakers to make decisions for the varied situations they are faced with. These include: federally-mandated groups (Yin, et al., 1973; Cole, 1974); state-mandated groups (Heck, 1977; Cunningham, et al.,1978); groups aimed at target populations (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977; Kaplan and Forgione, 1978); and groups operating in rural environments (Joyce, 1978).

A Model for Analysis

In this report we link the findings from these disparate studies into a single coherent framework in order to make policy recommendations. Although these studies vary along several critical dimensions: sample, methodology, definition of impact, and approach, each study does provide a separate "piece" that can be combined with other separate "pieces" in order to gauge the whole picture. It remains for us to provide the framework upon which the picture hangs. The skeleton of that framework is suggested by the major study. But, as it was necessary to add new "pieces" in the form of additional data sources, it becomes necessary to fill in and enlarge upon the basic skeleton. The model, as represented on the following page, is the result.

Figure 1

THE MODEL



This model illustrates our "view of the world." It suggests a way of thinking about and acting upon the problem of increasing the influence of community organizations on school policymaking. It graphically shows the variables that affect the relationship between community and school organizations.

To illustrate, the policymaker creates a policy--a directive, set of guidelines, or a program design--to enhance the influence of community organizations on school organizations. However, between the creation and the implementation of that policy in a particular situation, there are factors that can impinge on whether the policy is, in fact, implemented, and if so, the form it takes. These factors are represented by the model.

For example, the environment can make the policy politically unfeasible in a given context. The implicit assumptions underlying the policy may produce unintended consequences. Other Federal, State and local policies may create programs that compete for the same membership or resources, thus putting strains on implementation. The structure of the school or community organization itself may work against the intended outcomes of the policy. Each of these four dimensions, three external and one internal, impede the ability of the policymaker to simply enact policy "A" to produce outcome "B"--the increased influence of community organizations.

The model is also intended as a "map" to guide the reader through the remainder of this report. The following section is organized around *What We Know* about how each of these four factors--environment, implicit models, Federal, State, and local policies, and the internal structures of school and community organizations, themselves--affects the ability of community groups to influence educational decisionmaking.

SECTION TWO:

WHAT WE KNOW

This section of the report draws upon the primary and secondary sources of data just described in order to address the major question: What is known about the four dimensions identified in our model--environment, implicit models, policies, and the structure of organizations--that might affect the ability of community organizations to influence school organizations? Following the model, we examine each component separately. However, the environment and implicit models are considered as part of the policymaking context. The three levels of policy origin--Federal, State, and local--are subsumed under the aegis of the policy delivery system. And, community and school organizations are discussed under the general category of organizations. This categorization results in three overall questions which we address in this section of the report.

- What do we know about the policymaking context?
- What do we know about the policy delivery system?
- What do we know about organizations?

Throughout this section the myriad of information is presented in question and answer format, focusing on those issues most relevant to policymakers. What policymakers can do about those issues is addressed in the specific recommendations offered in the third section of this report.

I. THE POLICYMAKING CONTEXT

Environment

Every organization operates within an environment; the policymaker should be aware of ways in which this environment affects the organization. Yet, most studies fail to devote much attention to environmental factors. We explore what these studies do suggest through the following questions:

- What is meant by the term "environment?"
- How does the environment affect the ability of community organizations to influence school organizations?
- How can policymakers take the environment into account?

What Is Meant By The Term "Environment?"

Environment refers to the political, social, economic and historical context. It is the setting or stage upon which the relationship between schools and community organizations unfolds. The environment can be looked at on several levels. It can refer to a particular school/community setting, such as an urban, industrial, northeastern city that finds itself in the midst of a desegregation battle. In this case, the school district's pressure to desegregate and the community's attitudes, mobilized pro and con on alternative desegregation plans (including not desegregating at all) would be important environmental factors affecting the relationship between schools and community organizations.

The environment can also refer to the entire State.

For example, the passage of Proposition 13 in California changed the environment for schools and community organizations state-wide. The budgetary implications of Proposition 13 constrained schools' receptivity to costly innovations and led to increased financial dependence on the State. The passage of Proposition 13 also affected the climate of opinion, public values, and the attitudes of school personnel. Both the changing quantity and source of money for schools and the changing climate of opinion can be considered as environmental factors.

Finally, environment can refer to the country as a whole, such as the United States as it enters this post-industrial era of limited uneven growth and declining resources. This present state of affairs has implications for what the public is or will be expecting from schools and for schools' ability to respond to these expectations at the local level. These different levels of the environment can be thought of as a series of concentric circles, each potentially impinging on the center--for our purposes, the relationship between community and school organizations.

How Does the Environment Affect the Ability of Community Organizations to Influence School Organizations?

This question is the crux of our analysis. The environment as we have defined it does make a difference. However, cause and effect relationships between different environmental factors and the ability of community organizations to influence schools are notoriously difficult to trace. The following three studies do, however, shed some light on the nature of these links between the environment and local school/community interactions.

Cohen (1978) suggests that one effect of the environment is that it limits the amount of impact any community organization can exert on a school organization. He defines environment in the broadest sense--the socio-political structure of post-industrial United States. His basic premise is that, due to the present high degree of bureaucratization and professionalism, decisions concerning education are outside the spheres of both community organizations and local schools. Instead, he sees the crucial decisions being made by professional unions, textbook publishers and testing services. Consequently, the outer circle of the environment predetermines and limits what is possible in the inner circles.

Our own field study traces the environment to a different level--the level of the city. In the research design the environments of the three cities--Atlanta, Boston and Los Angeles--were treated as potential independent variables. In other words, we sought to measure the effects of city environments on the structure and behavior of both community organizations and school organizations. For each city, the environmental factors were defined as: the formal government (the structure of authority), the informal government (the actual process of decisionmaking based on historical traditions of making policy and on a power structure which may or may not coincide with the formal structure of authority), and the socio-economic and demographic background of each city and its neighborhoods.

It was hypothesized that these environmental factors (or the political culture of the city) would affect the ability of community organizations to influence schools. For example, it was supposed that influence was dependent

in part on school organizations' openness and accessibility. This, in turn, was determined by the formal structure of authority and informal patterns of decision-making unique to each city, which affected the way schools were governed. It set the stage for appropriate structures, such as the tolerable degree of teacher unionization or school decentralization. The city's socio-economic environment, in turn, was seen as affecting the possible constituency and resource bases for community organizations. We found, for example, that the distribution of economic resources among classes and ethnic groups within each city was related to community organizations' effectiveness. Access to resources and the source of those resources determined the organizations' goals, strategies, and internal structures--all of which either facilitated or impeded their ability to influence school policy.

More important, local values and traditions of policymaking--which were identified as each city's operating style--were found to spill over and provide either opportunities for or constraints on organizational effectiveness in influencing school policies. In fact, the key process was discovered to be "spillover." School issues got played out on the same stage and with roughly the same set of rules as other issues in each city. For example, the relatively lower level of political activity found among community organizations in Atlanta was traced to the generally low level of overall political activity in that city as compared to the other two cities in the study. Likewise, the high activity level among Los Angeles groups was seen as reflective of the relatively high overall activity level in that city (Gittell, et al., 1979).

A third study reinforces the importance of urbanization as affecting the content and outcome of school/community interactions. A study of the experimental, federally-funded, Urban Rural School Development Program investigated the effect of urban versus rural environments on reaching the goal of instituting parity or collaborative decisionmaking between school and community. It found that somewhat different characteristics were necessary to achieve parity in rural as compared to urban sites. Whereas councils in urban sites achieved parity when there were equal numbers of school and community members, rural sites needed slightly more community representatives to offset professional dominance. The role played by administrators vis à vis the council also varied in the two types of sites. In rural sites, the program administrator tended to be more highly involved in the council. His/her involvement was associated with more community participation. This relationship, however, was not borne out in urban sites (Joyce, 1978).

In summary, these studies demonstrate that the environment can serve three functions. It can: (1) limit the amount of impact a community organization can exert on a school organization; (2) encourage certain kinds of behaviors or structures on the part of community or school organizations as appropriate or reflective of the setting; and (3) require policymakers to develop different approaches to satisfy specific local circumstances, such as degree of urbanization.

How Can Policymakers Take into Account the Environment?

To ignore the environment is to assume that policies are implemented in a vacuum. At the very least, policy-

makers must take into account environmental effects. There are two ways they can do this: (1) alter the environment to make it more amenable to the implementation of their policies; or (2) alter their policies to fit into the various environmental contexts. The second alternative is obviously easier than the first.

Unfortunately, the environment is not easily manipulated. It represents the most "given" part of our model. It is not likely that policymakers will be able to affect large-scale social change in the basic political or economic structure of the United States. However, on a more limited scale, there are things policymakers can do to alter environmental factors. For example, they can provide financial incentives to encourage local economic development. They can create programs aimed directly at neighborhood associations, thus facilitating local efforts at development. Also, they can work towards restructuring local governments to encourage decentralization. While efforts in these directions may not, at first, seem to bear directly on school/community relationships, as we have seen, the evidence suggests otherwise.

The alternative approach is for policymakers to focus on the policies themselves, rather than the context in which they are implemented. This approach requires having different policies to fit different environments. For example, policies that may be appropriate to an urban, northeastern city with a history of decentralization and strong political unionization may not be the most appropriate for a rural, southwestern county concerned with bilingual issues and a declining economic base. A study of Title I takes this position

in its recommendations for setting policies for States. It suggests that Federal directives should be different for States whose general orientation or goals match Federal priorities and which take a directive stance as opposed to those States whose position is autonomous from the Federal government and whose role is generally nondirective (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977).

Both approaches--manipulating the environment or manipulating policies--require policymakers to take into account the particular setting. Both require them to have information about those settings, to devote more time to adapting the policies (or the environments), and both may appear to lessen the amount of influence policymakers have to implement general, overall and wide-sweeping reform. However, in reality, such sensitivity to the particular context improves the chances for implementation of policies, allows the policymaker to predict what results can be expected, and enhances the possibility of success.

Implicit Models

> The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach--no one is against it in principle because it is good for you... (Arnstein, 1970:370).

Participation is a revered idea in our culture, an outgrowth of our political environment, and a value policymakers are likely to want to perpetuate through specific programs. However, between the environment where the idea arises and its operationalization in specific programs stands the mediating factor of implicit models. It is impossible to create a program,

issue a guideline, or set up a policy in the absence of an implicit model. We address the effect of implicit models in the following context:

- What happens if policymakers do not pay attention to the implicit models underlying their policies?
- What are the prevalent models of community/school relationships?

What Happens if Policymakers Do Not Pay Attention to the Implicit Models Underlying Their Policies?

Failure on the part of policymakers to take into account the implicit models upon which their policies rest can have two consequences: (1) outcomes other than those anticipated may result, and (2) those unintended outcomes may actually contradict the explicit goals of their policies. The following two examples illustrate these points.

In the early 1960's there was a surge of psychological and sociological reports on parenting styles. This culminated in the now-famous Coleman Report which stated that much of the variance in achievement scores among students could be explained by differences in home environments. New programs and policies were designed to overcome these perceived deficiencies in home environments. Many of these, such as supplementary programs like Head Start, assumed an "Environmental Deficit Model" (Stearns, et al., 1973). As part of this model, parents were accorded an advisory role--their involvement was part of the solution. However, while this was the stated goal of these programs, it was not the "message" being transmitted to participants. The underlying assumptions upon which such programs were based did not view parents

as the solution but actually saw them as the problem. These programs represented an implicit attempt to compensate for what was perceived at the time to be parents' inability to provide a stimulating home environment that was on par with the dominant culture.

Another example of unintended consequences from the application of implicit models is provided by the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) of 1972. This federally-funded program was created, in part, to fund nonprofit organizations (NPOs) to assist local school districts with special needs arising from the desegregation process. NPOs were funded ostensibly because of their independence from the local school district. The model on which this program was based identified the local school district as part of the problem and recognized the importance of external groups as the solution. Yet, the program regulations were set up so as to require local school boards to sign off on the NPO applications before they could be considered. One result of this practice is that: "The more an NPO is in philosophical and ideological agreement with its local school district, the more likely it is to receive ESAA funding." (Upton, Fonow and Cook, 1979:18-19). Thus the policy intent of external input has, in fact, given way to local domination--the very thing it wanted to avoid.

What Are the Prevalent Models of Community/School Relationships?

These preceding examples illustrate only two of the more generally accepted models of community/school relationships. Four of the most common models are described below. Each model suggests the appropriate role for the

community and the school. As we have noted, these appropriate roles and the implicit assumptions concerning the definition of the problem and the solution will almost certainly be communicated to participants, regardless of the stated intent of specific programs.

Supplementary:

Parents or members of the community assume a supplementary role, either at home or school, depending upon the perceived source of the problem. According to one argument, the child's home is believed to be inadequate. The solution, then, is to train parents to provide a more stimulating home environment. On the other hand, when the problem is perceived to be a lack of resources on the part of schools, then the solution requires that parents assume supplementary roles of tutors, aides, or volunteers.

Advisory:

Parents or members of the community serve in an advisory capacity to the school. This model surfaces when the problem is decreased success on the part of the school or decreased trust on the part of the community. The solution becomes setting up a mechanism to increase access, information flow, and contact between the two groups, usually in the form of a board, council, or committee. However, while the community is allowed an increased voice, the school retains decisionmaking authority.

Shared Decisionmaking:

Both the community and school share decisionmaking power. This model identifies the problem as one of an unequal distribution of power and recognizes the unique contribution parents can make to education. The solution in this case is to redistribute power by giving both groups

equal authority, a share in decisionmaking, and joint accountability.

Community Control:

The community assumes full responsibility for decisionmaking. This model reflects a situation in which the problem is defined as the school having lost legitimacy. It further assumes that one function of schools is to help create a sense of community identity. The solution that follows is for the school to relinquish authority while the community takes over the power of decisionmaking.

Our description of these models represents "ideal" types. They are translated into specific programs, regulations and directives through policy formation and policy implementation. Successful implementation depends, in large part, on the extent to which policymakers are aware of the implicit models and assumptions which underlie their programs, regulations and directives.

II. THE POLICY DELIVERY SYSTEM

Federal Level

> ...Federal policy is neither a single, unambiguous program nor a coherent doctrine administered by a dominant agency. It is a composite of funds, guidelines, legal requirements, and intents that are the result of political deliberations and consensus-building between the executive branch and Congress as well as within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974:14).

Over the past twenty years, the number and scope of Federal policies that affect the relationship between community and school organizations has risen dramatically (Davies, et al., 1978; NIE, 1978; Gittell, et al., 1979). We discuss the significance of these policies by asking these questions:

- What is the nature of the Federal role in this area?
- What effects have Federal policies had on the relationship between community and school organizations?

What is the Nature of the Federal Role in This Area?

Two traditional Federal functions are advising and directing. The advising function is carried out through conducting and disseminating results of relevant research. The directing function is more overt, and is accomplished by issuing regulations, laws and program requirements, or providing financial incentives (Stearns, et al., 1973). The recurrent question is how prescriptive should the

Federal role be?

Federal policies, both advising and directing, are characterized by four attributes in the area of community participation in educational decisionmaking. These policies: (1) provide an advisory role for community organizations; (2) attack the problem through target populations; (3) rely on a categorical program approach; and (4) assume implementation occurs automatically. In other words, for each target population in need of some sort of Federal intervention, a separate program is created, and representatives of the community are assigned an advisory role. This process is designed as if it were to occur in a passive environment which somehow could automatically translate Federal intent into local practice--similar to a magician's "black box" that magically transforms a scarf into a desired white rabbit!

What Effects Have Federal Policies Had on the Relationship Between Community and School Organizations?

The specific characteristics of Federal policies have affected the nature of school/community relationships. These effects extend beyond individual programs or the stated intent of Federal policies. They include: (1) the creation of new kinds of community organizations; (2) the perpetuation of diffuse and not agreed upon program goals; (3) a problem of overlapping, but "non-combinable" constituencies or memberships; and (4) uneven implementation of policies.

1. New Kinds of Community Organizations

The categorical nature of Federal programs, and their emphasis on target populations, have resulted in two new types of community organizations. The first type

grew out of Federal intent to redistribute resources, and the other from a desire to widen the process of decision-making about resource allocation.

In their attempt to redistribute resources to communities or segments of communities previously "short-changed," Federal policies created a new kind of local community organization--the multi-service organization. These were set up primarily in the 1960s to be the "funnels" through which new Federal monies flowed into the community. These newly created organizations acted as agents for Federal programs and served as vehicles through which resources were distributed to local communities. However, the economic cutbacks and different programmatic approaches of the seventies have altered Federal policies and have resulted in the removal of much of the organizational base and purpose for the existence of many of these groups (Gittell, et al., 1979).

The other type of new organization created was comprised of representatives of the target populations served by particular programs. These groups sprung from a growing belief that community members should have an opportunity to influence the administration of programs designed to benefit them. The purpose of such organizations was to be "involved" in planning and carrying out Federal programs. Such organizations were first created under Urban Renewal in the area of housing. They achieved prominence in programs growing out of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and its subsequent amendments and reincarnations, including the Model Cities program. Head Start, originally under the auspices of OEO, and later under HEW, was the first educational program to mandate such advisory organizations. The

Follow Through and Title I programs followed suit. Today there are nine separate Office of Education programs mandating advisory community organizations (Davies, et al., 1978); and that is only taking into account programs at the Federal level.

2. Diffuse Goals

Because of the ambiguity of purpose of this second and most common type of group, a confusing situation has resulted. Advisory groups are typically mandated to "be involved in planning...", or to "be advisory." There is, however, no consensus about what constitutes "advisory" and what outcomes can be expected from participating in an "advisory" capacity--for the participant or for the program. Each program defines it differently. For example, Federal programs that seek to increase community involvement in education rest on a wide range of assumptions, i.e., that such involvement will somehow benefit children, devolve power, improve program effectiveness, reduce alienation, make services more responsive, integrate the bottom segments of the population in order to quiet urban unrest and promote stability, train citizen leaders, counteract excessive Federal domination, promote community development and social reform, and even single-handedly reform the entire school system (Stearns, et al., 1973; Yin, et al., 1973; Davies, et al., 1978).

Each program is operating from its own implicit assumptions, with its own definition of the problem, and its own desired solution. The advisory goal is ambiguous, to say the least.

3. Overlapping, "Non-Combinable" Memberships

The categorical approach of Federal policy has caused a proliferation of separate, independent categorical

programs at the local level. Each program creates its own community organization with its own requirements, purpose (probably one of the objectives listed above) and directives. Since the requirements are different for each program, it is impossible to combine the separate groups into one community organization that would oversee all the separate programs at any given school site or school district. For instance, it is a requirement that Title I groups be comprised of 51 percent of parents of children receiving Title I aid. This requirement precludes using another community organization like a School Advisory Committee, a Teacher Corps Council, or an independent citizen board to advise on Title I.

Since each of these specially created community groups represents a separate target group, another problem arises. When more than one program shares the same target population there are often overlapping memberships. This results in duplication of effort, unreasonable demands both on the participants who may be involved in more than one group and on the local school administrators who must respond to each group separately. Such separate mandates, rather than building on natural coalitions, force existing groups into competition with one another for increasingly scarce resources, such as money and time. The result is a high rate of burnout among seasoned program participants.

These consequences occur because of faulty policy design. However, even if policies are well conceived, there is still a gap between policy design and implementation--our fourth point.

4. Uneven Implementation

This results, in part, from what some observers have called the black box mentality underlying policymaking (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). This mentality assumes

that the right mix of inputs will produce the desired outputs or policy outcomes. Federal policies--directives, programs, guidelines--constitute the input. The context they are attempting to alter--the school or community organization--makes up the "black box." The desired or intended outcomes represent the output. Unfortunately, the link between input and output is tenuous. Policymakers are forced to make assumptions about what happens after their input goes into the "black box."

For example, a common assumption made about the process of implementation is that it is automatic. However, unlike the United States Post Office, which has branch offices in each community to carry out the policies of its national office, there are no local branch offices to oversee local implementation of Federal policies regarding school/community relationships. As a result, Federal policies are at the mercy of State and local implementors. This causes uneven implementation, misplaced emphasis, and changed intent (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977). Some locales charged with implementation do not even possess sufficient resources for carrying out the intent of the law, not to mention what happens when they are not in agreement with it. Additionally, State and local levels may be generating their own policies. If these added policies agree, then duplication and fragmentation result; if they disagree, then there is a problem of contradictory policies. We shift to the State and local policy delivery systems in the following two sub-sections of this report.

State Level

The role of the State in the area of human services has been increasing, especially since World War II. In

education, factors such as increased school consolidation, new collective bargaining agreements, and changes in school finance laws have all contributed to an increased role for States. A recent report issued by the National Education Association noted that 1978-79 will mark the first time in the history of tax-supported education in the United States that States will contribute more than local governments to the cost of running schools (Report on Education Research, 2/7/79).

This increased role for States is clearly visible in two types of policies emanating from this level: (1) those resulting from States acting as conduits of Federal policies; and (2) those representing independent State directives and guidelines. In their first role--as conduits or carriers of Federal directives, guidelines, or programs, States act to translate, implement, and "make real" Federal intent in specific situations. Conversely, when States initiate their own policies, they find themselves at the other end--feeding their own policies into the local context. However, even in this latter case, Federal intent plays an indirect role by setting national priorities and precedents, and establishing practices.

We consider the role of State policies in both spheres through the following questions:

- How do States carry out Federal policies?
- What independent role do States play?

How Do States Carry Out Federal Policies?

As the "black boxes" into which Federal policies are fed, States can assume different roles depending upon how the particular State views its position vis à vis the Federal government. The goals of a particular State have been found to be the crucial determinant of State perfor-

mance in administering and implementing Federal directives (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977). Perceptions of goals, or role orientation, are based on two dimensions: the extent to which a State agrees with the goals of Federal policy in the first place (i.e., shared or autonomous goals) and secondly, the extent to which the State exerts leadership in pressing for local compliance with these policies (i.e., directive or nondirective). Hence, a State can assume one of four positions.

Figure 2

FOUR TYPES OF STATE ROLE ORIENTATIONS

LEADERSHIP \ GOALS	Shared	Autonomous
Directive	States which agree with Federal policy and press for compliance.	States which press for compliance with their own policies.
Non-Directive	States which agree with Federal policy but do not exert leadership for compliance.	States which develop their own policies but do not exert leadership for compliance.

Since each of these four State types assumes a different stance towards Federal intent, it has been suggested that different policies be developed for each (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977). The present situation, however, is quite the opposite. Presently, States are treated as uniform entities. The roles and responsibilities actually assigned to them are often non-specific, ambiguous and

sometimes contradictory to Federal intent.

The lack of sensitivity to particular State circumstances can be illustrated by a study of the Federal Title I program. In this program, all States are assigned the same role. This is regardless of the fact that there may be individual differences such as whether they have (1) sufficient or insufficient resources to adequately fulfill their responsibilities, (2) centralized or dispersed decisionmaking mechanisms, (3) regional offices and (4) separate or combined technical assistance and monitoring units. Each of these dimensions potentially alters the capacity of the State to implement Federal Title I directives. Yet there is no provision for taking these factors into account (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978).

A study of compensatory education programs further illustrates the lack of specificity in the State role (NIE, 1978). According to this study, States were discovered to have wide discretion about the extent to which they can draft their own regulations as well as the methods they use for enforcement or to insure compliance. Yet, somehow, these widely differing means are supposed to reflect national priorities in this area. Hence, it is not surprising that in each of the programs looked at in this study, the gap between Federal intent and State implementation was wide.

A State can also find itself caught in a contradiction between the structure that is imposed by Federal regulation and the desired intent of a policy. This becomes clear in the following example. In the ESAA-NPO program the States are supposed to "be involved," yet the funds go directly from the Federal to local level. Hence, States are only called upon in crisis situations. This frequently leads to local program participants perceiving the State role as one of interference rather than of helpfulness (McDonnell

and Zellman, 1978).

What Independent Role Do States Play?

States, as separate policy delivery entities from Federal or local levels; also play an independent role that is uniquely theirs; by virtue of the constitutional doctrine of "police powers"* responsibility for education is vested squarely on the States' shoulders. States have the following authority; to grant taxing and rule-setting powers to local school districts and to provide facilities and technical assistance, such as setting priorities and policies, certifying teachers and accrediting teacher training institutions. States are also assigned control over financial resources through such means as determining patterns of school financing, drawing district lines, and providing substantial portions of school funding (Upton, Fonow and Cook, 1979). Traditionally, States have not used these powers to grant, assist or fund community organizations in educational decisionmaking. When citizen advisory councils have been set up by States, until the past decade, they consisted of selected professional elites or blue ribbon committees. More recently, however, a few States (namely California, Florida and South Carolina) have taken the lead in mandating local, more representative grassroots community advisory committees.

One difference between those advisory committees emanating from recent State directives and those mandated at the Federal level is that the former are of a general nature, while the latter are primarily tied to specific

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*This is an 18th century term first used by Adam Smith, referring to health, safety, welfare and public education functions.

categorical programs. That is, state-mandated community advisory committees are more likely to be associated with functions common to all schools, such as finance, rather than being tied to programs targeted at specific populations. For example, California's mandated committees are related to program improvement and school finance (Baker, Herman and Yen, 1978; Davies, 1979); Florida's are tied to auditing and accountability functions (Cunningham, et al., 1978); and South Carolina's are associated somewhat with both (Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979).

In other respects, however, state-mandated committees resemble their federally-mandated counterparts: (1) they are assigned an advisory function; (2) the area about which they are most often to advise is the initial stage of planning--goal setting; and (3) State policies face the same flaws in implementation as Federal policies. That is, mandated committees are established without technical assistance or support, without monitoring or evaluation, and often without funding. State intent is shaped by local implementation. This is illustrated by the following two examples.

In California, first the Early Childhood Education (ECE) Program, and more recently, the School Improvement Program (SIP) represent state-wide programs which mandate school-level community advisory councils. These councils are supposed to include equal representation of educators and parents. The SIP councils have access to funds which can be used for training and materials and authority to develop SIP plans and a school-site review monitoring process. In Florida, school advisory committees were undertaken concurrently with two other innovations--school based management and educational finance. However,

in neither State did the adoption of these policies automatically mean they were implemented in specific local districts.

In both Florida and California the implementation of school and district-level school advisory councils was uneven. In Florida, the legislative intent was neither clearly announced, nor broadly disseminated; no additional resources were made available to local districts. Technical assistance was the only instrument the State Department had at its disposal to implement the policy intent (Cunningham, et al., 1978). California's ECE program generated opposition especially in large city districts concerned with the usurpation of district control of funds. However, the criticism was directed at the administrative procedures of the program rather than the substantive aspects. The latter were perceived as representing consensus among educational leaders. The necessity to rally political support resulted in program changes, and the diffusion of ideas emanating from the ECE program into general educational practice made evaluation efforts difficult (Baker, Herman, and Yen, 1978). A similar scenario unfolded in California's SIP. Strong opposition arose from major State educational groups, especially district-level administrators. Those groups had the most to lose due to the decentralization aspects of the program. In addition, there was no counterveiling political force of parents or citizens at the State level equal to that of the teacher and administrator special interest groups. Evaluation became problematic given the lack of comparability of criteria and reliability of measures. Interviews with State officials showed they felt that councils were not realizing their full potential because participants had

never been adequately informed of their real powers (Davies, 1979).

In sum, State policies are subject to the same implementation problems as Federal policies. Just as there are no State "branch offices" to implement Federal policies analagous to the Post Office model, there are no local "branch offices" to implement State policies--and it shows!

Local Level

This level of policy delivery refers to the local school district, whether it is in a large urban area or a small rural town. The local level is where policies from all three levels come to rest. It represents the final "black box" in which Federal directives and State regulations get played out. Like the "black boxes" on the other two levels, the local one, too, is not passive. Besides being the object of policies emanating from higher levels, the local level generates its own independent policies. We consider the local level of policymaking in the area of community participation in educational decisionmaking by posing two questions:

- How do Federal and State policies get played out at the local level?
- What independent role does the local level play in initiating policies on its own?

How Do Federal and State Policies Get Played Out at the Local Level?

The process by which Federal and State policies are transformed from intent into actual practice at the local level is dependent upon the interplay of two factors--

adaptation and implementation. If we consider Federal and State policies as examples of innovations which attempt to affect local conditions, then the recent Rand studies of federally-sponsored innovation shed some light on the process. They found that the most successful innovations were those that promoted mutual adaptation to the local context (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974 and 1978). That is, they took into account the particular setting the policy (or innovation) was attempting to influence. They recognized the availability of local resources, the level of commitment of those responsible for carrying it out, the capacity to manage it, and the degree to which the policy or innovation adhered to local preferences and unique conditions.

However, such adaptation to local conditions is only the first step in assuring adherence to Federal or State policy intent. Implementation also comes into play. Federal and State directives are not self-executing; ratification (even if it reflects sufficient sensitivity to the local level) does not automatically translate into local compliance. To quote the Rand study:

> The difference between success and failure depended primarily on how school districts implemented their projects not on the type of Federal sponsorship. The guidelines and management strategies of the Federal change agent programs were simply overshadowed by local concerns and characteristics. (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978:vi).

Such local concerns may prevent policies emanating from higher levels from being fully or even partially implemented. Thus, Federal or State intent matter less than what is actually happening in the local setting. This

is especially relevant when it comes to evaluation. An evaluator may think he/she is evaluating a particular Federal or State policy, when, in fact, that policy may never have been implemented in the first place. Unless this fact is recognized, the object of the evaluation may not be a particular policy, but a "non-event"--something that was never transformed into local practice (Charters and Jones, 1975).

What Independent Role Does the Local Level Play in Initiating Policies on its Own?

It is more difficult to assess the independent contribution made at the local level towards generating policies for involving the community because little systematic data are available. However, we found instances of three different avenues local policymakers can pursue in order to increase the participation of community organizations in school decisionmaking. They can: (1) replicate at the local level a model already tried at the State or Federal level; (2) add to or enlarge upon what is already in existence; or (3) develop their own unique version of a participatory mechanism.

In the first instance, local policymakers can replicate an idea developed on another level, such as setting up councils. This approach is illustrated by Los Angeles' own city-wide mandate for the establishment of school/community advisory councils. These councils were assigned the role of participating in decision-making through "advising the principals in matters pertaining to the local school and its educational program." (Davies, et al., 1977).

A second means by which local policymakers can enhance the effectiveness of community organizations in education is to add to or enlarge upon the role those organizations already occupy as the result of a mandate from another level. The collective bargaining process in Berkeley, California is such an example. The Berkeley Board of Education established their own mechanism to involve the community, which was over and above the public access provisions in that State's collective bargaining act. They established a citizen's advisory committee on negotiations. The role of this committee was to hold community meetings to solicit citizens' responses to issues and to advise the Board during the negotiating process (Hamer, Cheng and Barron, 1979).

A third approach is for local policymakers to act independently. The Louisville, Kentucky plan for city-wide decentralization is such an example. In the early 1970s, the Superintendent led a major effort to reform the city's schools. One of its key features was the development of a decentralized plan for school governance. This was to occur through the creation of mini-boards at each school site. However, the plan was never fully implemented. It fell victim to a school desegregation order that merged city and county schools (Davies, et al., 1977). Perhaps it was precisely this local plan's independence from State or Federal policies that led to its vulnerability and eventual demise.

Summary: Policies in General

Thus far we have considered the three levels of policy delivery--Federal, State and local--as separate entities. However, there are certain characteristics

that cut across these levels--characteristics common to most policies dealing with community involvement in educational decisionmaking.

What are the Commonalities among Policies?

There are five general characteristics shared across all three levels of policy delivery that affect community participation in education. These include the following: (1) there is a virtual absence of overall policy in this area; (2) when policies do exist, they result in the creation of new organizations; (3) funding sources evolve into programs; (4) policies create ownership problems; and (5) the focus of evaluation efforts is misplaced.

The most apparent common denominator across all levels is the virtual non-existence of an overall policy. Observers have often noted that:

> There is no broad citizen participation policy; the existing citizen participation requirements and activities stem from the unique history of specific (DHEW) programs, and consequently do not follow any general pattern. (Yin, et al., 1973:73).

What is true of Federal programs is also true of State programs. There is no overall policy intent specifically aimed towards increasing community input in educational decisionmaking nationally, state-wide or even locally. Rather, policies that do exist in this area are piecemeal, fragmented and not always consistent. Directives or requirements for community involvement are usually "parasitic" on other program goals. That is, policies or programs are designed not to

increase community involvement, per se, but to do everything from benefitting children (Stearns, et al., 1973) to reducing alienation (Yin, et al., 1973). The community participation component is then "tacked on" under the usually untested assumption that it will somehow accomplish the program goals.*

This has profound implications. First, it complicates efforts to evaluate participation policies and structures. For example, if increasing community involvement were an end in itself, then the focus of evaluation would be on whether or not it was accomplished. However, when community involvement becomes the means, it is not evaluated on its own merits, but according to the goals of the program to which it is attached--which it may or may not be able to affect.

Second, this piecemeal approach towards involving the community does not make apparent the inconsistencies and contradictions in the different community involvement policies associated with separate programs. For example, the requirements of the Title I program specify that Title I councils must include at least 51 percent parents of children eligible for Title I assistance. Other programs, such as the School Community Councils of the Urban Rural program require numerical equality between school professional staff and community members. The

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*Exceptions: Florida and South Carolina School Advisory Councils began as "parasitic" on school finance reform--once established, however, they do have a life of their own. Some local mandates, i.e., Los Angeles Unified School District, Long Beach or Boston Advisory Councils, are specifically for citizen participation and not tied to any categorical program.

inconsistency of these two requirements is not realized because they are each separate parts of different programs. Under present policies, no one agency, State or district has the "whole picture."

The second common feature of current policies on all three levels is that they result in the creation of new organizations or groups. These new groups are then structured to be an addition to rather than a replacement for existing groups. Instead of developing policies to alter local school organizations to make them more responsive or open to citizen input, new structures are created.* For example, Federal policy created Title I Councils; State policy in California created School Improvement Program Councils; and local policy in Boston created three tiers of Parent Advisory Councils.

A contributing factor to this proliferation of separate groups is the third commonality of policies--the tendency for funding sources to become programs. Each funding source, be it Federal, State or local generates its own independent program with its own bureaucracy and power base (Davies, 1979). Instead of a coordinated effort by all funding sources to support the ability of community organizations to participate in educational decisionmaking, each funding

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*An exception to this is the first major court test of citizens' and parents' right to participate in educational decisionmaking. On September 14, 1978, Women for Political Action (WPA) filed a class-action suit against the Paterson, New Jersey Board of Education, claiming that the Board violated citizen participation provisions of the New Jersey Public Education Act of 1975 (Citizen Action in Education, 1978).

source operates independently and creates its own program, which, in turn, creates its own organization. Thus, the result is a proliferation of programs, each with its own council, each responsible to a separate funding source, and each operating with its own ground rules, unique requirements and membership specifications (Berman and McLaughlin, 1974 and 1978; Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977; Davies, et al., 1978). This places an undue burden both upon program participants and the LEA administrators who have to deal independently with each separate program.

The fact that each of these separate programs emanates from its own funding source at different governmental levels contributes to a fourth general difficulty--lack of ownership. Each program is accountable to a separate agency. Local participants do not view Federal categorical programs or even state-initiated programs as theirs. Programs other than those locally conceived engender a lack of ownership among local participants. Likewise, local programs are not perceived to be within the jurisdiction of State or Federal agencies. For example, of 12 different programs from 12 different funding sources operating in Los Angeles public schools, only three are local; hence, nine are seen as somebody else's (Davies, 1979). And somebody else's programs do not engender local commitment and are not seen as something over which local personnel have any control.

The fifth and final common thread running through the policies on all three levels is an almost exclusive emphasis on evaluating factors that most easily lend themselves to measurement, or to being counted--numbers

of people and how money is spent. Program directives are uniformly specific about membership requirements and the composition of councils (Davies, et al., 1978) and how money is to be allocated (Goettell, Kaplan and Orland, 1977). This is not surprising. Numbers of people are relatively easy to count and thus to evaluate; budgets are easy to audit. Programs devote a great deal of time and energy to being in compliance in these areas, probably because it is clear what this means and how to accomplish it. Evaluations of programs likewise focus on these same factors. Just as they are relatively easy to carry out, they are relatively easy to assess. To put it another way, what you evaluate is what you get! This misplaced emphasis in evaluation continues even in the absense of supporting data. As we show later, there is no evidence to support the relationship between increasing community involvement in educational decision-making and how many people serve on a council, how those people get selected, or how money is spent by that council. Conversely, those factors that <u>have</u> been demonstrated to have an effect--organizational or structural factors (Huguenin, 1978; Joyce, 1978)--are the ones that are neither required nor evaluated.

In the next section of this report, we shift attention to those internal or structural features both of community organizations and the school organizations they are attempting to influence.

III. ORGANIZATIONS

> ...implementation is an organizational process and to model this process requires a theoretical understanding of the organization itself. (Berman and Mclaughlin, 1974:12).

Unfortunately, this understanding is often absent. The organizational characteristics of school and community organizations have the potential to weaken the eventual success of any policy change, innovation, or program, regardless of the governmental level from which it originates. If policy intent does not translate into desired outcomes, the fault may not lie in poorly designed or not fully implemented policies. Rather it may be because the unique features of school organizations or community organizations were not sufficiently understood or taken into account by policymakers or policy users.

In this section we shift focus from directives, programs and guidelines to the organizations such policies are designed to affect. The information on organizational characteristics is posed in the following questions:

- What are the unique features of schools as organizations?
- What are the organizational consequences of community involvement policies?
- What is the nature of community organizations?
- What works?

School Organizations

What are the Unique Features of Schools as Organizations?

Schools exhibit certain characteristics simply by virtue of being organizations. These include the existence of standard operating procedures, organizational interests, and shared values among members (Peterson, 1976). They also include organizational traditions and patterns of relationships (Sarason, 1971). Any attempt to introduce into the organization new actors or groups of actors (such as parents or citizen groups) with their own interests, values, and behaviors, or new ways of doing things requires alterations in existing patterns. Before discussing possible alterations required by the addition of community members to school organizations, we shall delineate what the existing patterns look like.

One way to conceptualize schools is through organizational subsystems. Schools, like all formal, complex organizations, include five interrelated subsystems: environment, goals, technology or activities, formal structure, and informal norms (Udy, 1965). In schools, however, these five organizational subsystems take on special characteristics.

First, schools, like other public organizations, are subject to control by their environments. They are dependent upon the local community to pass bond issues. They are subject to the will of the State for requirements for teacher certification and districting. They are affected by shifting national priorities in education. Second, the goals of school organizations are diffuse, multi-faceted and difficult to pin down, compared to business organizations whose goal of maximizing

profit is specific, unidimensional, and easy to measure. Third, the activity of school organizations--instruction --is fragmented, and its link to intended outcomes--learning--is tenuous. Fourth, the informal norms in school organizations are particularly powerful, especially at the teacher (and increasingly the administrator) level. And, in the case of school organizations, these informal norms are buttressed by professional associations which emphasize professional autonomy. Fifth, the formal structure of school organizations is unique. The various levels--district, school, classroom--operate relatively independently of one another with little coordination or control. "Structurally, schools are loosely coupled rather than well-knit formal organizations." (Deal and Huguenin, 1975:11).

These organizational characteristics are common to all schools, yet policymakers frequently pay them little heed. Schools have not generally been considered as organizations, or if they have been, it has usually been in terms of bureaucratic or "ideal-types."

What are the Organizational Consequences of Community Involvement Policies?

First, the introduction of new community groups into the school organization affects the environment. From the point of view of the school, it allows the school organization to exert greater control. A community council can buffer the school from a sometimes turbulent environment; it can also provide a mechanism for the school to test out new or controversial ideas in a more controlled atmosphere. From the community council's standpoint, however, though its inclusion as part of the school

organization gives its members increased access and legitimacy, there is also the danger of its being coopted. Second, policies designed to increase community participation, by definition, impose a new set of goals on the school organization. These new goals are added to the old ones which are already difficult to assess. Third, these new goals require new activities to accomplish them. However, both the goals and accompanying activities frequently rest on untested "leaps of faith." Further, the ability to assess these new activities seems to outdistance present efforts. Fourth, community involvement policies ignore the informal norms that surround schools. Yet these norms are powerful and often run contrary to the idea of community participation. For example, existing norms dictate that professionals should be in charge. As a study of California's Early Childhood Education program found, "The reassertion of lay control into routines and values of school staff would require change in these roles and traditions." (Heck, 1977:233). However, such roles and traditions usually remain unchallenged. Fifth, community involvement policies are implemented as if all the structural levels of school organizations were coordinated.

Not only do policymakers proceed as if school organizations are vertically related, but as if they are horizontally connected as well. Yet, a study of Florida's state-mandated advisory councils found few communications existing between these councils and school boards (Cunningham, et al, 1978). This lack of connectedness between levels was borne out in our own field study. We found in Boston, for example, that no clear reporting mechanism existed between the court-mandated City Wide Parents

Advisory Council and the School Committee (Gittell, et al., 1979). These examples illustrate an important structural deficiency of many of the current policies aimed at increasing community participation in schools by creating community councils or committees. They are almost always created as structural "adjuncts" to school organizations. As such, they have no lines of communication or authority with the regular school organization. From the schools' standpoint, this kind of structure ensures the best of both worlds. It means the school does not have to alter routines, standard operating procedures or traditions, yet it creates the impression of involving the community. From the perspective of community organizations, however, this kind of structural relationship limits their role and ensures that their members remain weak actors in the system.

Finally, policies show no recognition that these five organizational subsystems are interrelated. This is contrary to the "hernia" theory of organizations; if one subsystem is altered, the effects will be felt in another (Deal and Rosaler, 1976). For example, if you alter the structure, the informal norms also need to change. If the structure allows community members access to decisions concerning program or personnel, the informal norms dictating that such decisions are within the exclusive domain of professionals also have to shift. Policies have generally not recognized this interrelationship among organizational subsystems.

In sum, if policies aimed towards increasing community involvement in schools are to work, several things have to happen. First, guidelines, directives and programs need to be well thought out and must reflect the

socio-political context; those creating them must anticipate what will happen in the "black box" into which they are fed. Second, and equally important, these policies must be buttressed by systemic or institutional change in the school organizations they are attempting to affect. In other words, policies that create community councils are only half the equation. The other half requires changes in the way school districts are structured to enable those councils to have access, lines of communication, and a legitimate role in the school decisionmaking process. Unfortunately, this is where many policies fall short. The following are examples of policies that fail to include both parts of the equation.

The Federal Title I program requires that parent advisory councils be set up at the building level. These councils are assigned an advisory role in making decisions concerning the Title I program. However, there is frequently no accompanying shift in the structure of school organizations that allows these decisions to be made at the building level. Accounting, administration, and program planning remain centralized at the district level. Although policies create community organizations, these groups cannot realize their full decisionmaking potential without accompanying structural changes in school organizations. This was borne out in our own field study. In Boston, court-ordered policy created community councils on several levels in order to decentralize decisionmaking. However, the district which retained control over budget automatically exerted a centralizing force. Again, the policies and the structure of the school organization did not mesh.

Not only do policies require school organizations to

change, they frequently require community organizations themselves to be set up in certain ways in order to maximize their potential. In the next section of this report we shift our discussion to community organizations.

Community Organizations

What is the Nature of Community Organizations?

By organizing the information about community organizations around the same five organizational subsystems--environment, goals, activities, informal norms and structure--we find the following. The environment can affect the functioning and effectiveness of community organizations in two ways. First, the environment can set the stage or dictate what is appropriate in a given context. For example, our own field study found that the activities of community organizations--their styles and opportunities for exercising policy influence--reflected the nature of the city in which they were located. The roles played by community organizations in desegregation in each of the three cities was quite different. The open political culture and operating style in Los Angeles encouraged the involvement of competing interests and a variety of community organizations. Atlanta, on the other hand, in line with its more closed political style, limited the number of participants. In Boston, where the precedent was to retain power in traditional places, the School Committee, school bureaucracy, and superintendent tried to remain in control. While these different styles of operation resulted in different forms and roles for community organizations, they did not turn out to be a determining factor in the organizations' influence over

policy (Gittell, et al., 1979).

The Syracuse study of Title I councils further confirmed the role the environment plays in setting the stage. This study found that the Title I mandate served mainly to reinforce existing patterns of school/community relations. In other words, the relationship between the school and community was strongest in those places where either a local education agency commitment or a mobilization of the parents already existed prior to the external mandate of Title I (Goettel, Kaplan and Orland, 1977).

The second role the environment can play is to serve as a resource base for community organizations. In our field study, this material relationship between community organizations and their environment was found to be critical, especially for low-income groups. Middle-class groups usually are not as dependent upon the environment for resources as are low-income groups, both mandated and citizen-initiated. Mandated organizations are usually financially tied to one resource base--the mandating institution. Low-income citizen-initiated groups are also usually tied to external funding sources, either government or private. The fact that low-income groups depend heavily on the environment was found to have profound implications for each of the other organizational subsystems. This is because such factors as goals, activities, structure and informal relationships are imposed by the external funding sources when the organization is financially dependent. And, most importantly, these imposed characteristics are not the factors associated with organizational effectiveness (Gittell, et al

Rand's FSAA-NPO study defined four types of resources

the environment can provide: material, nonmaterial, membership base or constituency, and the competence of the groups' leaders. This study found that community groups with a high material resource base were more likely to have cultivated it from a more remote area of the environment--the Federal government. On the other hand, community groups that eschewed external dependence and relied more on nonmaterial resources (i.e., visibility, news coverage, personal influence of leaders) were more likely to have greater sensitivity to their local environment (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978).

In the second subsystem--goals--there is again a difference between mandated and citizen-initiated community organizations. The goals of mandated organizations, though imposed, are notoriously ambiguous (Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979; Gittell, et al., 1979). For example, the Title I program guidelines specify that Parent Advisory Councils should "be involved in the planning, development, operation, and evaluation of programs under Title I." Yet, by their own admission, 52.5 percent of PAC members reported that they were not involved in such activities (NIE, 1978). The goals of citizen-initiated groups, on the other hand, are generally self-selected. However, this was found only to be true of citizen-initiated groups which are not tied to an external funding source, namely, middle- or upper-class organizations. Lower-class community groups, which may start out with self-selected goals, are likely to find their goals displaced by the imposed goals of the funding source (Gittell, et al., 1979).

The third organizational subsystem is a group's activities. A group's activity can be defined as the type of strategy it employs, or "the way a group chooses

to use its resources in order to further group goals." (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978:37). If the primary activity of school organizations is diffuse, that of community organizations is even more so. Mandated organizations engage mostly in tasks related to schooling activities, planning or evaluation, i.e., those spheres specified by governmental policies (Heck, 1977). Citizen-initiated groups, on the other hand, seem to concentrate either on service delivery or political activities. The citizen-initiated groups that depend on external funding, mainly low-income groups, are more likely to choose service activities, which are less high-risk, but also have less impact on policymaking. Further, such groups are more likely to limit the scope of their services and the number of people served. They are more likely to focus on only one client group, and more often rely on ideas originating from their funding source. Conversely, citizen-initiated groups which do not rely on governmental funds are more likely to engage in advocacy or political activities which run a high risk, but also have potentially greater policy-related impact (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978; Upton, Fonow and Cook, 1979; Gittell, et al., 1979).

In some instances, however, service delivery can have an indirect effect on the ability of groups to influence decisionmaking. Service delivery can increase the non-material resource base of organizations through increasing the pool of participants (Cole, 1974), or by building a constituency (Gittell, et al., 1979). The critical factor seems to be the role service delivery plays in the organization. To the extent it serves as a means of building an organizational base, rather than being an end in itself, it is associated with increased impact on decisionmaking.

Norms represent the fourth subsystem, the informal side of community organizations. They refer to the traditions or accepted ways of doing things. Norms can conflict with the stated goals of an organization, especially in mandated community organizations comprised of community members and professional school staff. This is because there are already existing expectations in such groups as to the appropriate roles to be played by professionals and lay participants. The formal, mandated goal may be shared decisionmaking, but, in fact, expectations persist that decisions legitimately belong solely to professionals. Such informal norms have been found to be extremely powerful and the most crucial factor determining the interaction patterns of professional educators and community members, even if members share other characteristics, such as sex, race, or class. This was illustrated in our field study by the following quote from the president of one of Atlanta's citizens' organizations:

> School administrators, almost regardless of their background and certainly regardless of whether they are white or black, tend to be autocratic and bull-headed about their professional perogatives and resistant to sharing power with the community. (Gittell, et al., 1979).

This status difference between professionals and lay participants is further exacerbated in groups comprised of community members with experience in school-related organizations who are used to traditional ways of doing things. Such members are often female, minority and lower socio-economic status (Heck, 1977). In such a situation, the status difference between the two groups is heightened, and the lower status community members are likely to accept the legitimacy of decisions being

made by the higher status professionals (Huguenin, 1978). Newer programs are attempting to alter these norms. However, to the extent that they focus only on the community members and not their professional counterparts, the traditional informal norms can be expected to persist. When these new and different norms are not accepted as legitimate by both professionals and lay participants, conflict can ensue. For example, in an evaluation of California's ECE program, it was found that principals overestimated the amount of influence exhibited by parents who served on the council. This suggests that even minimal involvement by parents exceeded the norm from the perspective of principals. On the other hand, parents underestimated how much influence they had, thinking it was not on par with their newly acquired expectations (Baker, Herman, and Yen, 1978).

The fifth organizational subsystem is structure. We can look at both internal structural characteristics of community groups, such as leadership or membership patterns and external structural features, such as relationships with other organizations.

Internally, we find differences between and within the structures of mandated and citizen-initiated organizations. The prime determinants of internal structure, according to our field study, are class and the strategy employed by the group. Middle-class citizen-initiated organizations which pursue activities with the greatest impact--namely, advocacy activities--tend to rely on rotating leadership, voluntary membership and an internally democratic way of operating. Lower-class citizen-initiated groups, on the other hand, are likely to engage primarily in service-delivery related activities, and hence

to rely on a paid professional staff. Lower-income groups that do engage in advocacy are frequently inspired by charismatic leaders who supply nonmaterial resources to the group by virtue of their reputation and experience. Mandated groups, with the least discretionary control over how they are organized, are often dependent upon an externally-imposed leader without formal authority or a membership base. They are also likely to have informal recruitment and selection methods and by-laws that focus on standard operating procedures rather than roles and responsibilities. They also frequently lack money and staff (Heck, 1977; Gittell, et al., 1979).

Differences in class and strategy also extend to how an organization is structured in relation to other organizations. With regard to other community organizations, the prime determinant of impact was discovered to be the extent of networking or sharing of information or resources among coalitions of groups. Networking works best as an exchange relationship. Hence, it is not surprising to find that middle-class groups, which have the most resources to exchange, are most likely to engage in networking behavior. This puts low-income groups at an even greater disadvantage. Not only do they lack resources themselves, but they are less successful in linking up with groups that do, since they have less to offer in the exchange.

How community organizations are structured in relation to the school organizations they are trying to influence was also found to be critical. Strain is produced because community organizations do not occupy a clearly defined niche in the organizational structure of schools (Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979). This is especially

problematic for mandated groups which are usually loosely attached to the individual school or building level with the principal as their primary line of communication.

This structural relationship between community groups and schools has implications. Most educational decisions are not made at the building level. The actual arena of decisionmaking is at the district or State level (Gittell, et al., 1979), or beyond the bounds of the public sector altogether (Cohen, 1978)--places where community organizations do not have access. Further, even at the school level, councils do not have an established formal relationship with the school board where policy decisions are actually made. Rather, councils relate through the administrator, but given the accountability lines of the school systems, there is even less of a chance for them to have an impact on administrative decisions (Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979).

On the other hand, such a structural relationship can be seen as advantageous from the point of view of the school. It serves as a check on community organizations' activities. The prime example is the ESAA-NPO program, ostensibly designed to fund community groups that are independent of school organizations. Yet, because of the nature of the program design and the structural tie between the community and school organizations, community groups least threatening to the school districts are the ones that receive funding.

> Unless an organization is able to obtain sign-off approval for its program from the local school board it cannot be considered for ESAA funding...the sign-off procedure itself can be viewed as a crucial gate-keeping mechanism which prevents NPO's from obtaining ESAA funds

> if their local school districts so desire. (Upton, Fonow and Cook, 1979:19).

Hence, the organizational structure of the program is not in accordance with the policy intent of having an independent "voice." That other voice (in the case of ESAA-funded NPO's) too often mirrors the voice of the school--not by policy intent, but by structural design.

Each of these special characteristics of the subsystems of community organizations has a potential effect on the ability of community groups to influence schools. Some factors enhance it, others hinder it. We are most interested in the former.

What Works?

> ...certain organizational characteristics can serve to devolve power more effectively than others. (Yin, et al., 1973:vii)

While there is no single best way of organizing community groups to increase their ability to influence school organizations, certain structures and strategies have proven more successful than others. However, what works is constrained and limited by what has been tried with what populations, and in what settings. With this limitation in mind, the following conclusions do represent a distillation of what has proven successful so far. These conclusions are presented in terms of the five organizational subsystems: environment, goals, activities, informal norms, and structure.

1. Environment

Two factors related to the environment emerge as critical--sensitivity to the environment and the degree to which the environment provides resources for the

organization. The most successful relationship between an organization and its environment resembles an exchange model. The community organization represents the interests of the local community, while the local community, in turn, provides resources for the organization.

Sensitivity: A number of studies found the first factor, sensitivity to the environment, critical for enhancing the influence of community organizations on school decisionmaking. The Urban Rural program found that for a community organization (in this case, a School Community Council) to influence schools, it had to be tailored to the particular nature of that community--reflecting the configuration of subgroups and different interests (Joyce, 1978). Our own field study identified the importance of the local socio-political culture as providing both the constraints and opportunities for community organizations to influence school policymaking (Gittell, et al., 1979). Finally, a study of ESAA-NPO groups found that effective organizations were ones that built on interests already in existence. To quote that study: "Political power is a consequence of community strength, not its source." (Upton, Fonow and Cook, 1979:2).

Resources: The second environmental factor affecting the ability of community organizations to influence schools is their source of funding. This relationship with the funding source is especially critical for low-income citizen-initiated groups. Mandated groups are public organizations, by definition, dependent upon public funds; middle- or upper-class citizen-initiated groups, on the other hand, usually have their own resources. It is the low-income and minority citizen-initiated groups, custom-

arily lacking in their own resources, that must rely on external funding sources, and thus pay a price. This price is especially high if the sole funding source is the local school district. Groups that follow this pattern exhibit the lowest autonomy and lowest impact, compared to groups whose funding comes from other sources, even the government or other local agencies (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978; Gittell, et al., 1979). However, it is a "no win" situation. Low-income and minority groups cannot divest themselves of reliance on external funding if this external source is their sole means of support.

As our field study (Gittell, et al., 1979) concludes:

> ...the demand we are placing on lower-class organizations is one which they are, as a population, least in a position to meet. We are asking those with the most limited resources to be the most resourceful; to eschew individual needs and incentives for the good of the group; to maintain allegiance to broader social issues and goals and limit their efforts to build large and stable organizations; to broaden the base of their own participants and internal democracy and become more independent and self-reliant; and to reduce direct external dependency. We encourage them to sustain advocacy as a primary strategy, although this requires the greatest investment of time and energy, and they are the least able to make this investment. In fact, we are asking them to be the source for reform of the very system that has denied them any means of access.

Although large-scale economic reform which would redress the inequitable distribution of resources in this society provides the best long-range solution to this dilemma, there are other avenues that can be pursued in the short run. First, low-income and minority groups can join forces with other community groups who have access to resources. Such networks of groups can join together,

across class lines, to work on common concerns, such as nutrition or drug abuse. Second, materially disadvantaged organizations can rely on such nonmaterial resources as increased membership or constituency base, news coverage, or reputation and recognition of their leadership. It has been shown that the more a community organization draws upon its own environment for nonmaterial resources (even in the absence of material resources), the more impact that group will have on the school organization (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978). Third, citizen-initiated groups who need to pursue service-delivery activities for funding, can differentiate their organization into two separate "arms." One can engage in those activities that bring in resources and build up an organization, while the other engages freely in advocacy or political strategies--those activities less fundable but which demonstrably lead to greater impact on school decisionmaking (Gittell, et al., 1979).

2. Goals

The critical determinants for success in the area of goals are specificity and control. It has been discovered that it is not so much what a community organization says it is going to do, or is mandated to do in terms of objectives that leads to its success. Rather, it is how concretely and specifically these goals are communicated to participants (Heck, 1977; Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979), and how much say the organization has in maintaining those goals (Gittell, et al., 1979).

3. Activities

The choice of activities a community organization employs in order to reach its goals has been shown to be another prime factor affecting the influence of that

organization on school decisionmaking. Several specific kinds of activities are associated with increased impact. First, the decision to engage in advocacy activities has been repeatedly shown to be critical (McDonnell and Zellman, 1978; Upton, Fonow and Cook, 1979; Gittell, et al., 1979). Second, activities that explicitly focus on expanding the base of participation are more effective than activities related solely to substantive issues (Joyce, 1978). Expanding participation can include instituting a subcommittee structure or working towards decentralizing decisionmaking. Third, community organizations are more effective when they engage in parallel rather than duplicative functions to the school system. Parallel functions lead to a clear division of labor and authority, and hence, less conflict (Stearns, et al., 1973; Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979). Fourth, activities that include being able to process grievances have been found to enhance the influence of community organizations (Yin, et al., 1973; McDonnell and Zellman, 1978). This is not surprising. The capacity to redress grievances allows an organization to provide a service that both builds a constituency and has the potential to improve school/community relations. Finally, if it is not an end in itself, but a mechanism by which a constituency gets built, engaging in service-related activities was found to contribute to a community organization's impact.

4. Informal Norms

The informal norms of community organizations have proven to be one of the most difficult subsystems to manipulate successfully. There is plenty of room for conflict when the norms of community organizations collide with those of school organizations. One way to

avert such conflict is through organizations comprised of experienced, middle-class, professionals who have been socialized to the traditional norms held by schools, i.e., reliance on professionals. However, many community organizations consist of members who do not necessarily "buy into" these traditional norms. They hold different beliefs and expectations as to the appropriate role for the community. This kind of group, in order to be effective, requires that a change in the norms of the school organization take place.

Altering school norms is not as impossible as it sounds. For example, in the Urban Rural program the overall goal was parity or collaborative decisionmaking between professional educators and community representatives. This conflicts with the long-standing tradition among school personnel that certain areas of decisionmaking remain solely with the professionals. However, through monetary incentives and the opportunity to institute a new structure, not only was parity achieved in several sites, but expectations shifted so that parity was accepted by both professional educators and community representatives (Joyce, 1978). Further, in those sites where parity was actually incorporated, the legitimacy of this shared decisionmaking between professionals and community members carried over to a different task. It was not only replicated behaviorally, but deemed legitimate by both teachers and parents in a small group setting not related to the Urban Rural program (Huguenin, 1978).

5. Structure

The structure of a community organization refers to how that organization is set up or organized in relation

to its environment, the school system, and internally. It is the organizational subsystem which is most easily influenced by policy intervention. Structure also seems to make the most difference in determining a community organization's influence on school decisionmaking.

Relationship to the Environment: In order to increase exchanges between the organization and its environment, the most promising structure is a network--in which several community organizations coalesce with each other or join forces to share resources or to reach a common objective. This type of a structure has been shown to lead to greater impact on the part of community organizations in a variety of settings (Yin, et al., 1973; Joyce, 1978; McDonnell and Zellman, 1978; Gittell, et al., 1979).

Another successful kind of arrangement is the umbrella structure, in which one organization is comprised of representatives from several other organizations. An umbrella structure is likely to increase the influence of the organization in the community at large; however, this often seems to be at the expense of influencing specific programs. To quote a study of this kind of structure: "Thus, we appear to have potential conflict between two desirable consequences. The structure associated with success in bringing the community together is associated with decreased participant influence over services" (Yin, et al., 1973:63). This suggests a dilemma--either organizations can be structured to have an effect on specific programs or on general, broad-based community issues. However, a promising compromise was found in a unique structural arrangement of a school council in California (Davies, 1977). This school, involved in California's Early Childhood Education program, was also taking part in other programs with community

participation mandates. They coordinated these different mandated advisory committees by creating an umbrella structure, i.e., one council composed of representatives of each of the programs. Yet, within this umbrella council, they retained individual subcommittees to deal with each separate program, such as ECE. Hence, the organization was simultaneously able to affect individual programs through their subcommittees, while still exerting influence on general issues through the umbrella committee.

The preceding umbrella structure could be made even more effective if it were combined with networking. That is, if the umbrella committee joined forces or shared resources with other voluntary citizen-initiated organizations in the community, the resulting structure would have the capacity to exert influence upon both specific programmatic issues and general, community-wide concerns.

Relationship with the School: The structural relationship between the community organization and the school organization is also a critical determinant of the ability of the community organization to influence school decision-making. Clear lines of authority, responsibility and communication have all been found to be essential. Also, repeatedly associated with impact on the part of community organizations is commitment and support from school administrators and teachers (Heck, 1977; Joyce, 1978; Kaplan and Forgione, 1978; Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979).

Internal Structure: Two internal characteristics often cited as crucial for organizations' effectiveness are their access to budget and their own staff (Yin, et al., 1973). However, we found that while these factors may be desirable, or even necessary, they are not sufficient to guarantee impact. This is best illustrated by

the findings of the Urban Rural School Development Program. Under this program each of the 26 participating school/community councils were awarded a substantial budget and power to hire their own staff, which each did. Hence, if budget and staff were the determining characteristics of success, then all 26 councils would have been effective. In fact, that was not the case. A little over half the councils were evaluated as actually being influential in school decisionmaking (Joyce, 1978). This reinforces our conclusion that the creation of desirable policies by themselves (even if they provide for staff and budget) are not enough. The structure of the community and school organizations also have to change in order to buttress these policy innovations, if they are to result in impact.

Another set of factors deemed critical in most program designs is numbers of people and whom they represent. Recommendations repeatedly urge that mandated school/community councils should include equal numbers or 51 percent of community representatives to offset professional educator dominance, and further, that members should be elected rather than appointed. Again, however, the research is not convincing. Absolute size has turned out to be a tricky variable. While a study of California's ECE councils found size of councils negatively related to their influence (Heck, 1977), the Urban Rural study found the larger the council, the more collaborative the decisionmaking (Joyce, 1978). In fact, the effect of size is likely to fall somewhere in between. To achieve strong influence, a critical mass is necessary, but if too large, the group is likely to become unwieldy. There is also no absolute formula as to the ideal relative numbers of community versus professional educator members.

In the evaluation of the Urban Rural councils, it was found that greater numbers of community representatives were necessary in rural sites as compared to urban sites in order to achieve a comparable degree of collaborative decisionmaking (Joyce, 1978).

How members get selected, i.e., whether they are elected or appointed, has also not proved as critical to community organizations' eventual impact as program designers might have expected. While elected councils are more representative of the population they serve, impact on policy is associated with a different factor--whether or not members represent a constituency, i.e., another organization, a local agency, or a specific group (Yin, et al., 1973; Joyce, 1978; McDonnell and Zellman, 1978; Stanton and Zerchykov, 1979).

In general, such considerations as how many people should serve on a council and how those people are to be chosen do not warrant the emphasis presently given them in guidelines and evaluations. Rather, research suggests that what does deserve emphasis is how community groups are organized and what they do. As already discussed, the kinds of activities groups pursue and how they are connected to their environment are both crucial to the influence of community organizations. The other critical factor is how the group is organized internally. In mandated groups composed both of school and community representatives, the existence of a subcommittee structure and a decentralized decisionmaking process have both been shown to be important (Joyce, 1978). Also, in such groups it is important that the lower status group--the community representatives--occupy positions of power within the organization (Huguenin, 1978).

In summary, these conclusions are constrained by what has been tried and where. They are based on programs that necessarily have been carried out in naturalistic settings, in the presence of competing variables, political realities, and less than perfect measurement. Nonetheless, these organizational characteristics do "work" under certain circumstances. Our survey of what works also points out that there is no one best way to enable community organizations to influence schools. However, there are a combination of actions that policymakers at different levels can take to enhance the effectiveness of community organizations and the responsiveness of schools. We discuss these in the next section.

SECTION THREE:

WHAT WE SUGGEST

This third segment of the report suggests ways in which policymakers can increase the influence of community organizations in school decisionmaking. Included are four separate sub-sections. The first reviews the assumptions and constraints upon which the recommendations are based. The second makes specific recommendations designed to replicate as much as possible what works. The third proposes future policy directions--what might work. Finally, the fourth presents a summary chart of recommendations.

Our recommendations to local, State and Federal policymakers rest on six basic premises. (1) The existence and acceptance by policymakers of the goal of increasing community participation in education is, by itself, not enough. Other changes are also necessary. (2) These additional necessary changes are organizational in nature. That is, rather than focusing on uncommitted educators or untrained community members, they focus on a system that is not working. (3) Given the differences among States, regions and local environments, it is impossible to recommend one best way to involve the community in schools. Much needs to be left to local discretion. (4) There is a distinction between the policymaking and administrative functions of school organizations. Our recommendations are explicitly aimed towards increasing the influence of community

organizations in the former--the policymaking sphere. (5) It has thus far proved difficult to coordinate efforts among policymakers on the three levels, Federal, State and local. Our suggestions are designed to enhance such coordination. (6) Changes in one part of a system or its environment inevitably produce effects, expected and unexpected, in other parts of the system. Hence our recommendations are interrelated and systemic.

Finally, our latitude in suggesting policy recommendations is necessarily tempered by reality. Certain facets of both school and community organizations are simply not susceptible to manipulation by policymakers. There are limits of time, resources and political feasibility. Also, certain policy choices raise potential contradictions or trade-offs, such as Federal intervention versus local discretion. The recommendations presented below are designed to take these realities into account.

Policy Recommendations

Under the general goal of increasing the influence of community organizations in school decisionmaking are four interrelated objectives:

- Improving the policy delivery system.
- Improving the effectiveness of mandated community organizations.
- Strengthening citizen-initiated community organizations.
- Increasing the responsiveness of school organizations.

Specific policy recommendations are made for each of these objectives.

Improving the Policy Delivery System

The major problems in the current policy delivery system include a lack of integration among levels, local fragmentation, and a failure to take the local context into account.

Overcoming the Lack of Integration among Levels: The present system resembles a quagmire of competing programs and contradictory regulations emanating from the Federal, State and local levels. No one agency or governmental level has the "whole picture."

Recommendation #1: Establish a Federal office for citizen participation, and similar offices in each State.*

These offices would serve several functions. First, they would act as conduits of relevant information for community organizations by translating and disseminating evaluation findings, monitoring the participation components of Federal and State programs for inconsistencies or contradictions, and providing a channel for grievances from community groups. Such services would be available both to mandated and citizen-initiated organizations. The second set of functions for the proposed offices would be less direct. Their existence

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*A precedent for such a Federal office already exists. Both the United States Senate's bill (S210) and the Administration's version for the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Education include the provision for an Office of Public Involvement (NETWORK, 1979).

would generate a bureaucratic self-interest, in the best sense of the term, for citizen participation. Consequently, rather than being an "add on" and thus easily expendable component of other programs, participation would exist for its own sake and would be evaluated on its own merits.

Finally, these offices would carry symbolic importance. Their very existence would enhance the legitimacy of citizen participation. Rather than being merely a "good thing" that programs should include and districts should implement, citizen participation would be viewed as an important public function, deserving continuing support and monetary investment. The preceding recommendation is aimed towards instituting a holistic approach through creating single offices at the State and Federal levels. This does not, however, overcome the problems of fragmentation at the local level.

Overcoming Local Fragmentation: In many school sites, especially those participating in special categorical programs, there is a proliferation of separate councils and committees. Each operates in isolation from the others. Each concerns itself with the parochial interests of its specific target population. And each makes demands on the time of local administrators and, sometimes, competes for the same members. While these committees enjoy varying degrees of influence over specific programs, they have a limited influence on general overall school policies and a limited ability to represent community concerns. Conversely, citizen-initiated groups which represent various community concerns are able to influence community issues, but even if they are interested in educational issues, they

have no access to schools. A solution is offered in our second recommendation. It creates a new kind of mandated structure designed to decrease fragmentation while simultaneously taking into account general community and school-wide issues as well as special target group interests.*

Recommendation #2: Establish an umbrella council at each school site.

This umbrella council would be formed from representatives of target groups. Target groups include mandated special interest groups (such as Title I), peer groups (such as teachers and administrators), and other community institutions (such as health agencies or community development corporations). Client control of targeted, categorical programs would be retained. These clients would be represented not by separate councils, but through subcommittees of the umbrella council. This would require amendments in the form of waiver provisions in present Federal and State mandates to allow these subcommittees to act as the legitimate designates of the program and to allow monies allocated by the programs to be used at the discretion of the subcommittees. Again, this umbrella structure is not intended to eliminate the present client-controlled special interest groups, but rather to provide a forum for bringing such

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*This recommendation is addressed to State policymakers. However, in the absense of State action, it is just as appropriately addressed to local school boards.

groups together. Figure 3 provides an illustration of what such an umbrella council might look like. However, the specific composition of such councils is best determined locally.

Taking into Account the Local Environment: Successful implementation of any of any policy, including our proposed umbrella council is, in part, dependent on its match to unique local circumstances. Our third recommendation prescribes the adaptation of the umbrella council arrangement to the local setting.

Recommendation #3: Establish a process to involve relevant constituencies at the local level in implementing the umbrella council.

Since it is the States which would mandate the umbrella council, it is they who should establish a participatory process which allows for local adaptation. Such a participatory process might include a specified sequence of formal hearings in which the different target groups such as school and community-based interest groups or other relevant parties who would be represented on the umbrella council would participate in drafting a school site "charter" for the councils. This charter would specify: functions, membership composition, and formal mechanisms by which umbrella councils would represent various interests at the school site and in the community. Again, it is impossible for us to specify the exact form such a process for developing a local charter would take in every context. What is important is that States design and enforce such a process. Local school districts

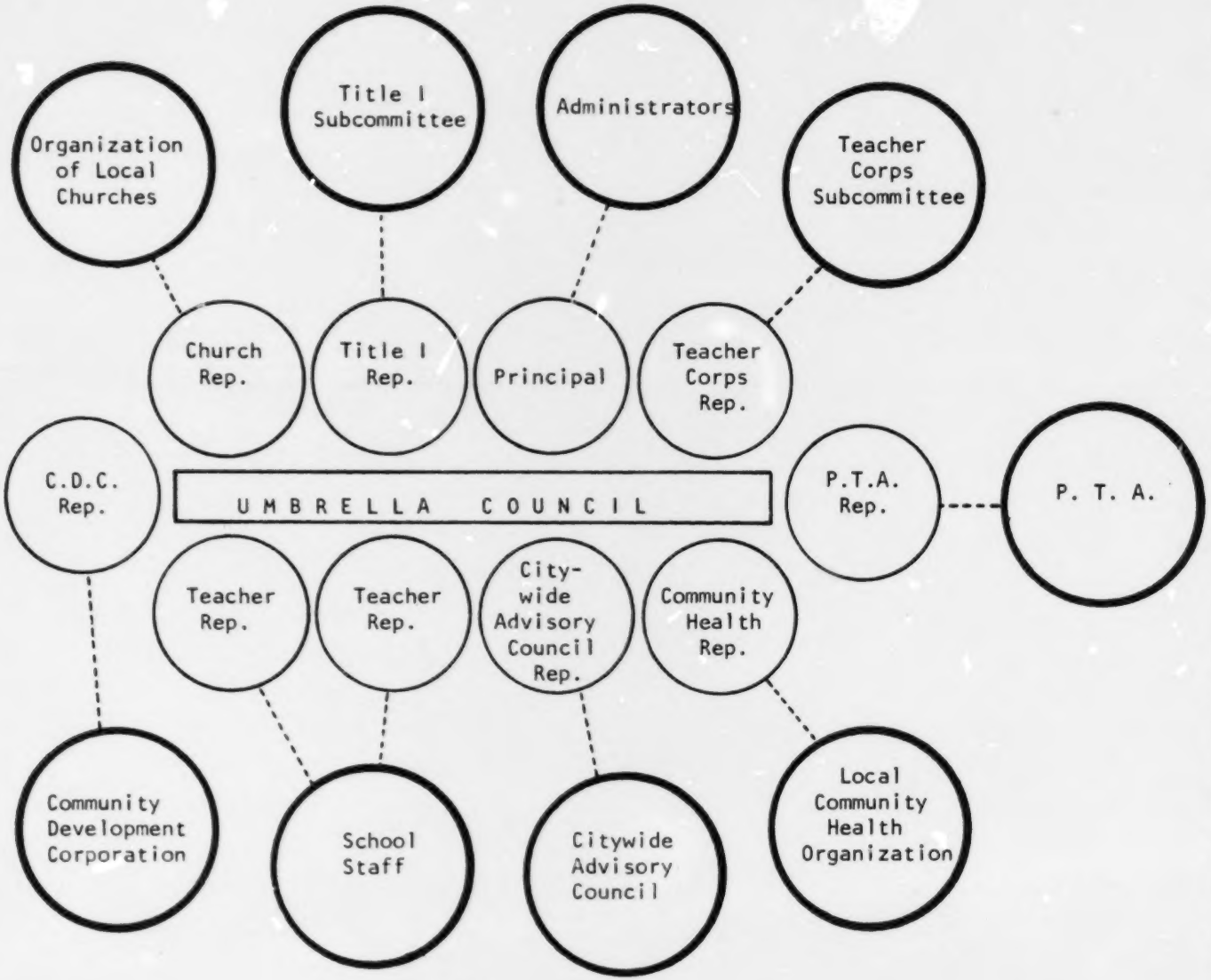


FIGURE 3. EXAMPLE OF AN UMBRELLA COUNCIL

could then be assessed as to whether they were in compliance with the process, and funding eligibility could be determined accordingly.

Improving the Effectiveness of Mandated Community Organizations

Our field study of 16 community organizations concluded that the current emphasis on mandated groups is misplaced because such groups are not working and current policies for them are ineffective. These conclusions provide the impetus for the recommendations which follow. Our suggestions are aimed towards new ways of thinking about mandated groups and new ways of integrating them into the policymaking processes of local school districts. Abandoning the decade-long experiment for mandating citizen participation is neither possible nor desirable; such mandated groups were created to provide access into the system for previously excluded target populations. However, there are barriers which prevent such mandated groups from realizing this potential which must be overcome. The following recommendations are designed to accomplish this.

Clarifying Roles: This would eliminate one major obstacle to the effectiveness of mandated groups. Presently their roles are either left unspecified, or if they are specified, they overlap or duplicate already existing school functions. The point of access to the school for such groups is, at best, through the principal, and at worst, left to chance. Hence, any influence councils have on school policy issues is, by virtue of the structure, accidental.

Recommendation #4: Establish the official lines of communication between the umbrella council and the school organization through the school board.

This represents a departure from most current practices which have councils working through local administrators, mainly principals. It is this practice that contributes to much of the confusion surrounding councils. This typical relationship between councils and principals is all but impossible to maintain. It cannot meet community members' expectations about having an impact on school policymaking and simultaneously recognize principals' responsibilities and accountability in administering policies made by their superiors--the central office, and ultimately, the local school board.

The fact is that there are two kinds of decision-making: making decisions about ends, about what is to be done--policymaking; and making decisions about means, about how policies are to be carried out--administration.

This distinction is rooted in the tradition of popular sovereignty, which requires that ends be decided by popularly elected representatives and means be worked out by appointed administrators and officials. This tradition is embodied in the role distinction between professionals and laypersons in public policy areas, and corresponds to the maxim that: "experts should be on tap not on top." This political tradition which holds that executive agencies' power and authority is limited to areas delegated by sovereign elected legislative bodies extends to the governance of local school

districts.

It is the local, and in most cases popularly elected, school board which has the legislative-policy-making authority. It represents, subject to State and Federal constraints, the peoples' sovereignty in deciding "what" schools should be doing and charges the superintendent--an appointed executive--with administering "how."

Popular sovereignty is maximized by the accountability and hierarchical lines of authority--from the board to the superintendent, and from there down to building level administrators and staff.

This pattern allows little room for horizontal sharing of decisionmaking between principals and advisory councils. The area over which principals have the most discretion is administrative matters, means rather than ends. Thus, the range of relevant "advice" which can be contributed by advisory councils is narrowed. It makes little sense for councils to offer policy advice if advisees are not able to carry it out. Additionally, principals and administrators are accountable to their superiors. There is no similar pattern of accountability for councils. Consequently, there can be little sharing of decisionmaking about means if there is no provision for sharing accountability.

Since principals (and program directors such as Title I coordinators) are charged with administering and school boards with policymaking, it seems only logical that if a new group--the umbrella council--is to be involved in policymaking that they work through the board rather than the principal.

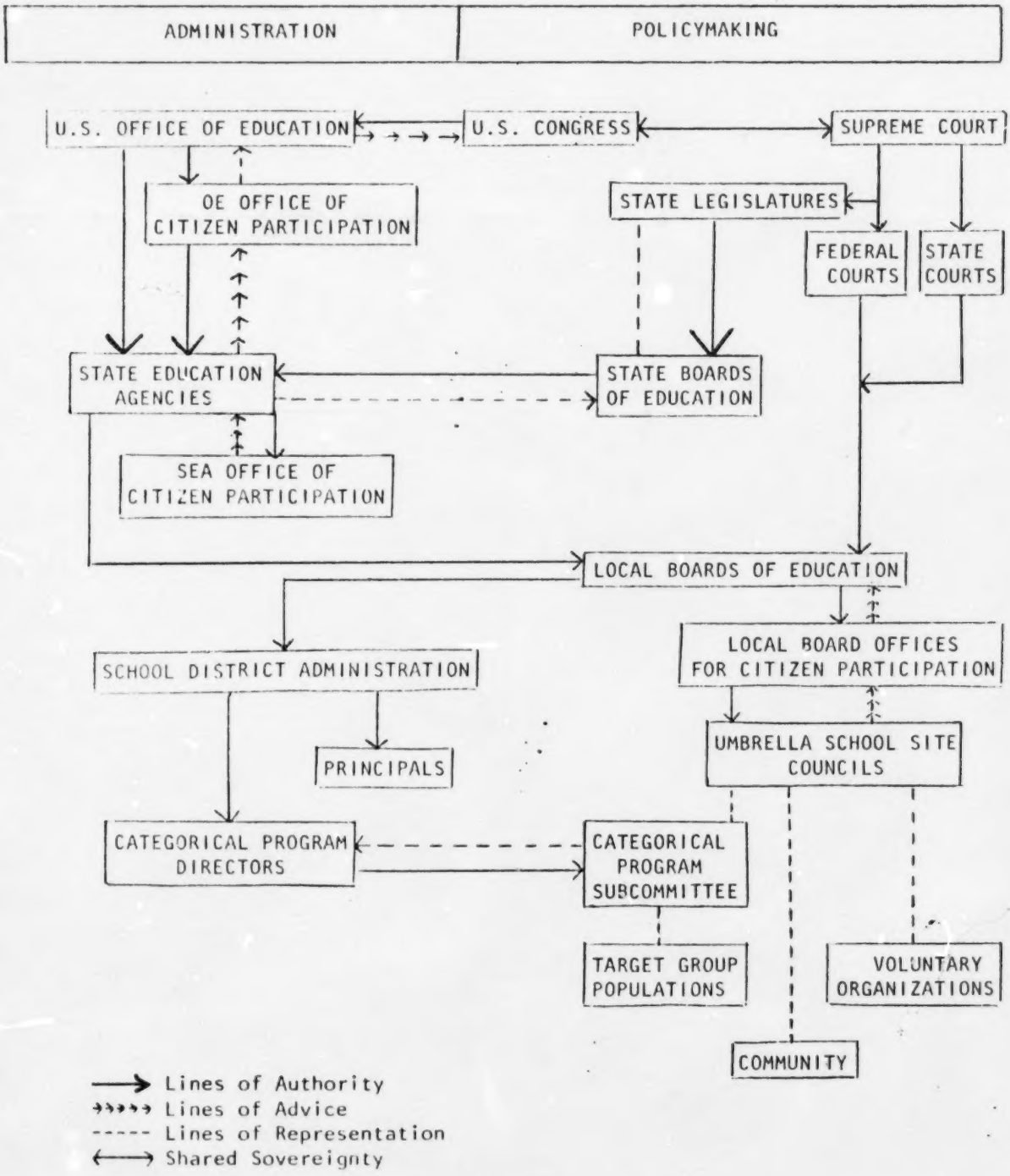
This direct relationship to the school board does not mean, of course, that councils would not have or should not have any contact or communication with principals. Nor does it suggest that this distinction between policymaking and administration is absolute or easy to maintain. It is an ideal type--a model which clarifies structural barriers to advisory councils' participation in policymaking and suggests a way of overcoming them. We recognize that executive agencies and administrators can be a source of policy, and that there is an ineliminable amount of de facto policymaking in administering of policies. Rules and guidelines cannot cover all contingencies. This "ideal-type" does not preclude councils' involvement in day-to-day administrative decisions about school programs and governance. However, it does change the basis for that involvement. As school site institutions, councils are, in a sense, extensions of the school board; they represent an extension of popular sovereignty embodied in our tradition of lay citizens' school boards. Councils can serve as the "eyes" and "ears" of the local board; they can monitor the building level implementation of board policies. The crucial factor is having councils report directly to the school board.

The logic behind this policymaking/administration model as manifest in our fourth recommendation is illustrated in Figure 4 on the following page.

If umbrella councils are to be more than mere "window dressing," if they are to be functional parts of the school organization, they need more than access. They need material and nonmaterial resources and specific delegated responsibilities. The recommendations that

Figure 4.

ADMINISTRATIVE VS. POLICYMAKING FUNCTIONS IN EDUCATION



follow address these needs.

Provide Material Resources: We are proposing two sources of funding for umbrella councils.

Recommendation #5: Provide each mandated umbrella council with a basic State grant.

As the sources of the mandates, it is the States which would allocate to the umbrella councils a modest sum of money on a per pupil basis. Such grants would be used at the discretion of the local umbrella council for basic operating expenses, including reimbursing members for expenses incurred, training or workshops, and purchasing materials. While this money could be used to contract for services from independent citizen-initiated groups, it could not be used to purchase materials or space from the school district. Since these councils are quasi-public institutions and are creatures of the local school board, we assume they will have access to materials, space, and use of equipment comparable to the use of public funds and facilities by school boards.

Recommendation #6: Institute a system of competitive State grants for programs jointly sponsored by umbrella councils and citizen-initiated organizations.

There are school problems that affect the community and community problems that affect the school (i.e., racism, vandalism, drug abuse). These competitive grants are designed to be the "carrot" used to encourage both types of groups--mandated umbrella councils and local

voluntary organizations--to work together on issues of mutual concern.

These grants would be over and above the basic operating grants allocated to umbrella councils. Their purpose is to encourage networking between mandated and citizen-initiated groups. As was previously discussed, networks or coalitions of groups are an optimal kind of organizational structure. They allow groups to work together and to discover common concerns. Such networks are based on exchange relationships. By requiring joint sponsorship, this funding policy provides councils with a commodity to exchange and builds mutual dependence between mandated councils and citizen-initiated groups.

Provide Nonmaterial Resources: Community organizations are most effective when they have access to local nonmaterial resources. Besides serving as a basis for sharing of material resources such as grants, networking can serve as a basis for exchanges of nonmaterial resources. However, it does not occur spontaneously, especially between mandated and voluntary organizations.

Exchanges of nonmaterial resources are best promoted by increasing the nonmaterial "commodities" which councils have available for exchange. Every council can give others time and attention and access to its agenda time, its membership, and its decisionmaking process. These nonmaterial resources can be valuable to other groups. The kinds of exchanges a council enters into, however, depend on the local situation, on the interest groups identified, on the council's goals and on what the council has to offer in trade. Recommendations #7-9 are aimed not only at clarifying councils' roles but

also at increasing their set of nonmaterial resources.

The first commodity offered by the umbrella council is membership and hence, access to school policymaking.

Recommendation #7: Members of the umbrella council should be selected by the constituency group they represent.

While we are not specifying which groups or agencies should be included on an umbrella council, two characteristics are important. The widest possible membership base is desirable, and representatives of each constituency should be selected by that group. This increases the support base and interest in school issues. It decreases the isolation of schools from other community agencies and institutions. And, simply by virtue of being in the same place at the same time, members of the umbrella council as delegates of constituencies know what other people are doing.

Since members would be duly selected official representatives of constituencies, the relationship between their individual groups and the umbrella council, which has a definite role in school district policymaking would be strengthened. In addition, these broad-based umbrella councils at each school site would be able to provide more community input on policies ultimately decided by the district school board. Because of overlapping memberships, councils would be structured so networking could naturally occur. Since members would have access to policymaking, being a member would be seen as worthwhile.

Provide Responsibilities: Recommendations #8 and

#9 below, mandate additional and quite specific responsibilities for umbrella councils, Such responsibilities would further increase the councils' authority and access to authority, and consequently their stock of exchangeable resources.

Recommendation #8: Transfer the sign-off responsibility in programs such as ESAA-NPO from the school district to the umbrella council in cases where the target area for proposed programs either corresponds or overlaps with the school attendance area, as represented by the site umbrella council.

Transfer of this responsibility would result in more useful interpretation of what activities are appropriate and fundable for NPOs. This would occur because scrutiny by the various constituencies represented on the council would discourage programs which duplicate efforts already under way. The result would be greater sensitivity on the part of the programs to local conditions. It would also indirectly increase umbrella councils' awareness of what is happening in their school and community.

Recommendation #9: Assign to the umbrella councils responsibilities for (1) processing grievances, (2) acting as a vehicle for citizen input to the school board, and (3) assuming a role in principal selection.

These duties would have to be delegated by the local school board to the umbrella council. At a minimum, this would require that States with existing mandates for

site councils remove any restrictions on councils' involvement in areas such as grievances and personnel selection. In order for umbrella councils to act as "funnels" for citizens' complaints, the board would have to allot them agenda time. In principal selection, the umbrella council would need to have a clearly defined role such as screening applicants. In each case the specifics of these three facets of umbrella group responsibilities would need to be agreed upon and worked out to the satisfaction both of local umbrella councils and local boards.

The intent of delegating these duties to councils is threefold. First, it further institutionalizes direct relationships between councils and the local school board. Second, involvement in principal selection cements ties based on self-interest and mutual respect between principals and site councils. Finally, the provision for councils to act as the primary vehicle for citizens' grievances and presentations to the school board is not designed to buffer the board from the public they represent. These provisions are intended first, to free the board to focus on district-wide concerns rather than building-level cases, and second, to buffer building-level administrators from dealing with citizens' policy demands over which they, the administrators, have no discretion or control.

Conclusion: While adopting these recommendations enhances the effectiveness of mandated community organizations, it still represents only half the equation. Mandated groups, since they are supported by public funds, can not perform certain functions, such as advocacy. As we have seen, this kind of a task is

best performed by the private sector--by viable citizen-initiated organizations whose nature and function allow them to organize and represent diverse perspectives. The ideal situation is one which includes both mandated representative organizations with a meaningful policy-making role and a surrounding context of vigorous, citizen-initiated interest groups. Without the latter, mandated organizations would not have constituencies to represent. Without the former, citizen-initiated groups would not have access to the system. It is for these reasons that strengthening citizen-initiated organizations is an important and legitimate part of our comprehensive recommendations to increase the influence of community participation in school decisionmaking.

Strengthening Citizen-Initiated Community Organizations

The validity of this objective is less apparent than those dealing with mandated organizations. Policy-makers may be reluctant to commit resources or attention to the private sector. Such reluctance, however, ignores the fact that already existing funding patterns (i.e., ESAA-NPO), shifting national priorities, and economic cutbacks, inevitably affect citizen-initiated groups. Even a policy of "benign neglect" is itself a policy. Moreover, such citizen-initiated groups can contribute to the effectiveness of the public sector. Put another way, an umbrella council is only as strong as its parts, and by increasing the effectiveness of some of its parts--citizen-initiated groups--the effectiveness of the whole will be enhanced.

We are not proposing government policies that

contribute to citizen-initiated groups reaching their own self-selected goals. Rather, our proposals are aimed at strengthening the capacity of voluntary groups to contribute to public goals. Such groups can broaden the base of participation by representing diverse, often not heard from segments of the population. They can generate independent sources of information, experientially develop leadership skills, and mobilize a constituency for mandated groups.

Represent Diverse Interests: Ironically, existing funding practices divert many voluntary groups, especially those representing low-income populations, from being able to represent their constituents' interests. A primary source of such diversion is the goal displacement resulting from being funded for service delivery. This leads to our next recommendation.

Recommendation #10: Restructure the way citizen-initiated groups are funded for service delivery in education.

This recommendation stems from the recognition that certain services are necessary and can even be best performed by citizen-initiated groups (i.e., training); and that funding for such services may be the only source of material support for some of these groups. Thus, while we would not abandon funding for service delivery altogether, we would suggest it be carried out in the following way. (1) The umbrella council, rather than the district, should serve as the contracting agency (similar to the ESAA-NPO proposed model).

(2) Priority should be given to funding those organizations that are structured with two separate "arms"--one for service delivery and one for advocacy or self-selected activities. This ensures that groups do not have to make a choice between the two, provides resources to build up an organizational base, and protects self-selected goals from giving way to imposed goals.

Recommendation #11: Give priority in funding to already established groups or coalitions of groups.

This recommendation is also designed to build on what already exists, rather than to encourage new groups that spring up to satisfy current funding priorities. Building up already established organizations would decrease susceptibility to imposed goals. Funding coalitions of groups to work on common problems would also further strengthen the voice of diverse community interests.

Provide Independent Sources of Information: This function of citizen-initiated groups is uniquely theirs and can only be performed by a body external to the school district. The capacity of such groups to carry out this function should be strengthened by implementing the following recommendation.

Recommendation #12: Establish parent information centers.

Such parent information centers would be established by the Federal government with at least one per State. They would be analagous to Teacher Centers and would

provide services to mandated, as well as citizen-initiated organizations. Such services would include providing information on funding sources and priorities, eligibility requirements, and new programs. The centers would also provide and/or refer groups to sources of technical assistance.

Parent information centers would be private agencies not operated by the school system or other public institutions. They would be created by funding already established citizen-initiated groups or coalitions of groups who are willing to serve this function. The funding for such centers could be supplied by allocating one percent of the ESAA budget for this purpose.

Conclusion: The above recommendations are designed to provide "carrots" to entice citizen-initiated groups into school issues. As we discussed, such involvement enhances both kinds of community organizations. However, this mutual involvement necessitates an exchange relationship. Our recommendations are designed to strengthen that exchange by making it worthwhile for citizen-initiated groups to "deal" and by making it possible for mandated groups to have something to exchange.

Increasing the Responsiveness of School Organizations

Policies aimed at increasing community participation must focus on the school organizations community groups are attempting to influence as well as on the community groups. Whenever there are changes, such as the introduction of new "players" or new rules, other organizational factors also have to change. Simply introducing

community participants into the school organization without changing organizational barriers impeding their involvement is counterproductive.

Several of the recommendations already mentioned should serve this purpose. For example, the environmental turbulence that presently surrounds schools results in organizational buffering strategies which reduce citizens' access. The response is precipitated, in part, by the proliferation of competing groups with conflicting demands and views on the schools' already diffuse goals. This results in an undue time burden on the building level administrator who is usually the sole source of information and point of access for each community group.

Recommendations #2 and #4, by combining groups under a single umbrella structure, and making that umbrella group advisory to the board rather than the principal: (1) creates a clearly defined niche from which community organizations can influence local policymaking; (2) reduces time demands on principals; (3) reduces school boards' dependence on district administrators as the sole source of information; (4) reduces community organizations' dependence on principals as the sole source of information; and (5) stabilizes the environment in which schools have to operate. Recommendations #1 and #3, by legitimizing citizen participation and by providing for a consensual process of adapting participation mandates to local conditions, institutionalizes community participation as a legitimate goal of the school, jointly shared by educators and the community.

However, institutions are constituted, in part, by the informal norms or folkways of different groups that make up those institutions. One such norm of schools

accords professionals primary and exclusive control over certain areas of decisionmaking. This spills over into supposedly neutral and non-professional arenas, like our proposed umbrella council. It means that while citizens may have equal representation and equal decisionmaking roles, they would not have equal influence, due to the deference given to explicit or implicit claims of expertise on the part of educators. This suggests the limits of institutional "tinkering." These limits are taken into account in the next two recommendations which are designed to affect norms.

Recommendation #13: Provide training for teachers, administrators, and school board members on their new roles with regard to community organizations.

Roles and responsibilities will be shifting if our recommendations are followed. These new roles are different from the traditional ones that hold that educators are the only legitimate actors able to influence school decisionmaking. If these new roles are not to be defeated by old beliefs, then explicit steps need to be taken in the form of specific training. This training would be carried out in a variety of ways. The local district would include this as part of their inservice training. States would establish programs to orient and train school board members. The inservice component of Federal programs such as Teacher Corps, Teacher Centers and Education of Handicapped Children as well as any new federally-created programs, would include training in working with the community as partners.

Recommendation #14: Expand teacher and administrator certification requirements to include evidence of effectively working with community organizations. Require training institutions to include this as part of their curriculum.

This represents the other side of the coin--preservice as opposed to inservice training. This preservice approach would have more long-range effects. It would reach more people and lessen the necessity for later inservice training. In those States where competency-based evaluation of staff exists, one of the required competencies would be the demonstrated ability of working effectively with community organizations.

Policy Prospects

Up to now our policy recommendations have been constrained by the limits of what has been tried. The fourteen recommendations have been designed to urge policymakers to either replicate or change existing practices and institutions. The proposals below, however, move beyond the common denominator of present practice and suggest promising new directions which policymakers can pursue to increase community participation in educational decisionmaking.

Initiating School Based Management

This concept of school governance is based on the assumption that the school site is the most manageable unit for school decisionmaking. School based management

includes: (1) making the individual school site the cost center by means of lump sum budgeting to the site; (2) cost-accounting and school performance reports at each site; and (3) increasing principals' accountability for individual school program budgets. The significance of this kind of structure for citizen participation is as follows. First, it brings decisionmaking authority down to the level at which most citizens are able and willing to participate. Second, it creates the opportunity for participating in significant issues. This is strengthened when the board delegates authority to citizens' councils. Third, devolving decisionmaking to the building level allows for increased sensitivity to the local environment. Finally, this approach allows for increased Federal and State roles in equalizing and/or allocating resources without jeopardizing local control.

In a system of school based management, the relationship between councils and principals would shift. The principal would have more authority in policymaking. This is different from the conventional pattern of school district governance assumed earlier in Recommendation #4. Given the present distinction between policymaking and administration and local school boards' sovereignty in policy matters, it made sense to propose that advisory councils redirect their policy advice to school boards rather than through the principal. Under conditions of school based management, however, this arrangement would change. Some of the policymaking discretion would shift to principals, especially in the areas of school program and budget expenditures. This change in the locus of policymaking would necessitate a

concurrent shift in the target of advisory councils' policy advice--from the board back to the principal.

Several consequences, however, would follow from this re-establishment of a direct relationship between principals and advisory councils.

First, explicit delegation of administrative authority from district superintendents to principals would have to be accompanied by an equally explicit and formal delegation of policymaking authority from school boards to site councils. Otherwise, simply increasing the discretionary authority of building level administrators would not, by itself, increase citizens' access to decisionmaking.

Second, roles for both councils' policymaking powers and principals' discretionary powers would need to be specified. For example, to follow our earlier discussion, these powers should not overlap since any overlap and ambiguity would act to decrease citizens' influence due to the prevalence of informal norms sanctioning professional control. Equally, the resulting ambiguity would recreate a severe role strain on principals who would then be motivated to buffer their actions from site advisory councils by strategies ranging from withholding information to benign neglect or outright domination of site councils.

In short, spheres of accountability would have to be clearly and precisely worked out: what decisions are district level and which are subject to school site discretion? Within the latter category, which actions are at the discretion of the principal and which are subject to the decisions of the council as a formally delegated school site agent of the local school board?

Finally, what would be the role of the board: how broad and complete is its delegation of authority to the site council?

School based management does have the potential for strengthening the proposed umbrella council by delegating even more responsibility for significant issues than originally proposed. This possibility raises our fifteenth and final recommendation.

Recommendation #15: State and local education agencies should move towards implementing school based management in ways that lead to shared governance at the school site. Under this proposal for shared governance the umbrella councils would be the duly constituted representative bodies with specific powers delegated by local school boards for policymaking at the school building level.

If current precedents continue, school based management would be part of State school financing formulas. Hence, authorizing shared-governance at the school site would be a State function. In some cases State laws or educational codes might need to be modified to make possible delegations of authority to umbrella councils at the school site. Inasmuch as school based shared-governance as envisioned above requires specific delegation of powers from local boards of education, implementation would also require local coordination and initiative. Moves towards school based management and shared governance could also be locally initiated and need not be tied to State finance equalization plans. In any case, moving towards school based management within

the context of the previous fourteen recommendations places a premium on coordination and integration of State and local efforts, initiatives and regulations.

Increasing Access for Community Groups in Non-local Decisionmaking Arenas

One inherent limitation of school based management as a structural change designed to stimulate community participation and influence is that certain key decisions will continue to be made and will have to be made at the district level or even beyond in non-local arenas. In fact, even if all the recommendations are followed, certain educational decisions will remain beyond the bounds of local community groups regardless of how elaborate or representative are their structures. Certain decisions are made by the private sector, such as educational testing services or textbook publishers or by professional organizations. Hence, a promising direction for policymakers is to create ways community organizations can have access to these kinds of decisions.

First, this could include having parents or community groups serve as a parallel force to professional organizations in collective bargaining. Holding open meetings, passing "sunshine laws," providing access to information (such as California's Rodda Act), or actually including citizens as the third party at the bargaining table are all possibilities to open citizen access to the collective bargaining process.

A second avenue could be directed at educational "vendors," i.e., testing services or publishers of materials. In this area, there could be a requirement

that agencies or companies that receive Federal, State or local monies be required to demonstrate citizen review of products.

Finally, a procedure could be established by each State Board of Education that would enable citizens to review teacher requirements and accreditation for programs at Schools of Education.

Summary: Table of Recommendations

There are three kinds of changes required to put these 15 specific recommendations into action--changes in funding, changes in rules, and changes in types of assistance. Since our emphasis is on structural change, the majority of suggestions are concerned with altering rules. The monetary commitment needed to enact these recommendations is minimal. The only direct funding required is from the States who are asked to provide minimal operating expenses for umbrella councils and a system of competitive grants. The Federal budget allocation is not additional, but simply redirected, i.e., from categorical program councils to categorical program subcommittees.

The outline below presents a summary of our recommendations, differentiated by whether they require changes in rules, funding, or assistance, and from which policymaking level they originate--Federal, State or local.

TYPE OF INTERVENTION	LEVEL
I. LAWS AND RULES	
A. Creation of New Structures and Institutions	
Recommendation #1: Establish a Federal Office for citizen participation, and similar offices in each State.	FEDERAL and STATE
Recommendation #2: Establish an umbrella council at each school site.	STATE
This would require amendments in the form of waiver provisions in present Federal and State mandates to allow these subcommittees to act as the legitimate designates of the program and to allow monies to be used at the discretion of the subcommittee.	FEDERAL
Recommendation #15: State and local education agencies should move towards implementing school based management in ways that lead to shared governance at the school site.	STATE
Under this proposal for shared governance the umbrella councils would be the duly constituted representative bodies with specific powers delegated by local school boards for policymaking at the school building level.	LOCAL
B. Rules: Regulations and Directives	
1. Specific to the Umbrella Council Mandate	
a. Implementation Procedures	

TYPE OF INTERVENTION	LEVEL
Recommendation #3: Establish a process to involve relevant constituencies at the local level in implementing the umbrella council.	STATE
b. Council Role and Function	
Recommendation #4: Establish the official lines of communication between the umbrella council and the school organization through the school board.	STATE
c. Council Structure	
Recommendation # 7: Members of the umbrella council should be selected by the constituency group they represent.	LOCAL
d. Council Authority	
Recommendation #8: Transfer the sign-off responsibility in programs such as ESAA-NPO from the school district to the umbrella council in cases where the target area for proposed programs either corresponds or overlaps with the school attendance area, as represented by the site umbrella council.	LOCAL
Recommendation #9: Assign to the umbrella councils responsibilities for (1) processing grievances, (2) acting as a vehicle for citizen input to the school board, and (3) assuming a role in principal selection.	LOCAL
2. Rules for NPO Funding Eligibility	
Recommendation #10. Restructure the way citizen-initiated groups	FEDERAL

TYPE OF INTERVENTION	LEVEL
are funded for service delivery in education.	
Recommendation #11: Give priority in funding to already established groups or coalitions of groups.	FEDERAL
3. Teacher Certification and Competency	
Recommendation #14: Expand teacher and administrator certification requirements to include evidence of effectively working with community organizations. Require training institutions to include this as part of their curriculum.	STATE
II. MONEY	
Recommendation #5: Provide each mandated umbrella council with a basic State grant.	STATE
Recommendation #6: Institute a system of competitive State grants for programs jointly sponsored by umbrella councils and citizen-initiated organizations.	STATE
Recommendation #12: Establish parent information centers.	FEDERAL
III. ASSISTANCE	
Recommendation #13: Provide training for teachers, administrators, and school board members on their new roles with regard to community organizations.	LOCAL

SECTION FOUR:

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

> Quality public education without the involvement and participation of the consumers is a contradiction in terms. (Gittell, 1972:684.)

Accordingly, program upon program have been created by policymakers in an attempt to involve consumers (parents and members of the community) in public education. Such programs inherently assume community participation is a means by which the problems facing schools can be "tracked down" and solved. Yet, as we have seen, the results have proved far from promising. More people are participating in more ways than ever before, yet the reality of that participation has fallen short of its promise. A primary reason for this is that there exists a gap between policy intent and actual practice. Narrowing this gap between intent and practice requires an integrated and coordinated approach towards policymaking for citizen participation in educational decisionmaking.

An Integrated Approach

Community participation (limited in this report to participation in educational decisionmaking) is a laudable goal. However, if it is not accompanied by fundamental changes in the nature of school and community organizations, it will remain simply a goal rather than practice. The changes that are required are organizational in nature. That is, they call for changes in the

environment, goals, activities, structure, and informal norms of mandated and citizen-initiated community organizations and the school organizations they are trying to influence. They require a systemic, holistic approach which attacks the problem of making community organizations more effective and school organizations more responsive on all levels. Otherwise, there is a risk that parts of the system will work against one another.

For example, developing new participatory institutions and points of access for citizens to participate in schools must be based on the recognition of the distinction between the policymaking and administrative functions of schools. The most appropriate arena for community groups to participate in, if they are to have an effect on school decisionmaking, is the policymaking one. Furthermore, the introduction of structural changes necessary to provide citizens with access to the policymaking arena can be subverted by the persistence of contradictory, informal norms.

The organizational perspective adopted in this report allowed us to "track down" such interconnections between structures, norms and behaviors. Such a perspective also resulted in an interrelated and integrated set of fifteen recommendations. If those recommendations are adopted, we envision a situation in which: (1) mandated groups are strengthened through a new kind of structure, the umbrella council; (2) the unique contribution of citizen-initiated groups is nurtured and the possibility of cooptation is reduced; (3) the organizational barriers within schools which get in the way of effectively involving the community are overcome; and (4) a symbiotic, mutually beneficial relationship among the various groups of actors is

enhanced. Boards are strengthened by the involvement of umbrella councils; umbrella councils are, in turn, strengthened by the private sector.

A Coordinated Effort: Federal, State and Local Partnerships

The recommendations also require coordination among different levels of government. This is necessary for two reasons. First, our Federal system and tradition of local control require joint responsibility for implementing many of the proposed changes. Second, these changes must leave room for local discretion and unique local circumstances. There is no "one best system." Objectives and processes can be specified, but successful implementation is dependent upon local social and political conditions. This must be recognized and taken into account by policy design. Consequently, there is a need for a new kind of federalism.

While this goal--a new federalism with more coordination and articulation among various levels of policy-making--is generally lauded in intent, it has been virtually impossible to accomplish under present circumstances. Hence, we propose that community participation in education be a vehicle or a "guinea pig" to test out new relationships among the local, State and Federal levels. Since in many cases we are proposing new kinds of organizations and structures, unburdened by past bureaucratic infighting or precedent, these represent excellent opportunities to achieve coordination.

In our recommendations, we have explicitly built in a relationship among the local umbrella council and the State and Federal offices for community participation. Further, we designed the umbrella council so that coor-

dination between levels is required. For example, States need Federal cooperation to recognize a subcommittee of an umbrella council as the legitimate special target group. There is also a need for State-local coordination to work out the many questions raised in our proposal for school based management and shared governance.

One way in which the various levels of policymaking can be coordinated is by thinking of them as a single overall "system" that is made up not of individual policies, but of an aggregate of policies. Using our organizational "lenses," we can look at this policy delivery system as, itself, an organizational system with its own environment, goals, activities, informal norms and structure. From this perspective, we find that the environment is typically unpredictable, due, in part, to the "black box" effect. Goals are often unclear and either simply follow precedent or else depend on programs in which citizen participation is not an end in and of itself. The activities are often contradictory. In some cases, policies impose overly rigid requirements which preclude successful adaptation to local circumstances. In other aspects, citizen participation policies leave the most important areas up to chance. For example, what is the specific meaning of "advisory," that most ubiquitous term in mandates for citizen participation? Moreover, monitoring and evaluation strategies which focus on "what can be counted" rather than on "what counts" result in schools and community organizations spending more time on meeting programs' administrative requirements and less time and energy on meeting program goals. This inevitable response only serves to widen the gap between intent and practice. The informal norms referred to earlier as implicit models reveal ambivalent concepts about citizen participation.

The structure of the policy system is unarticulated, fragmentary, overlapping and contradictory. In fact, the system has no real structure. This aggregate of policies can also be looked at in terms of the intended and unintended consequences it has on community groups and schools. At the local level this aggregate of policies is felt as a single force. External policies, whether Federally or State-initiated, make up part of the environment of local school and community organizations. Based on the organizational perspective and the model of analysis used in this report, we know that the behavior of schools and community groups is shaped, in part, by their responses to such environmental forces.

On the one hand, while individual policies may be well thought out, this aggregate of policies acts as a constraint. The present uncoordinated mix of directives and guidelines, characterized by ambiguous goals, overlapping mandates, and contradictory requirements, sets up environmental pressures that contribute to the ineffectiveness of community organizations and the unresponsiveness of school organizations.

On the other hand, the fact that policies do act as an environmental force enhances their potential for success. If policymakers want organizations to behave in certain ways, they are able to manipulate the environments of those organizations to produce the desired changes. Policymakers are in a position to alter environmental forces both by redesigning policies and the ways of delivering them. This enables policymakers to bring about increased effectiveness on the part of community organizations and increased responsiveness on the part of school organizations. Further, our organizational perspective pinpoints where policymakers should intervene. It leads to solutions

aimed at overcoming the institutional or structural barriers between intent and practice rather than placing blame on uncommitted educators, untrained community participants, or insensitive policymakers. To amend an oft quoted philosopher: "We have met the enemy". . .and he isn't us, but the system we find ourselves in.

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